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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 February 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

ECONOMIC REFORM IN CHINA CRITICIZED

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Zakhari Zakhariev: "China: Where Is the New Economic Reform Leading?"]

[Text] The recently announced general reform of the economic structure in China encompasses economics, trade, science, and culture. The main subject of the new reforms is urban economics. "Now the focus of the reform will be shifted from the village areas to the cities," the Chinese press says. In this sense, the reform is seen as a natural extension of the economic reforms carried out in Chinese agriculture in the last 5-6 years.

Chinese Socialism

Two aspects of the structural reforms we will see in Chinese economics in the next 5 years evoke special interest. On the one hand, the new reforms could be seen as an admission of the failure of the left-wing platform, which found its most visible expression in the policy of the Great Leap Forward, the people's communes, and the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, it is a substantial element of the new economic policy, which strengthens open market trade, stimulates the private sector, and attracts foreign capital investments.

What the former and present policies have in common is the unity of the pretension, then as now, of building a particularly Chinese socialism. China today is carrying out reforms in order to follow a path to socialism "with a Chinese face," writes the well-known economist Xue Muqiao. As seen in the official speeches on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, "We will create, with this reform, an economic system with 'Chinese features.'" The only difference is that while formerly the Chinese specifics led to egalitarianism and idealizing the general poverty, now socialism with the Chinese face is not seen as a synonym for poverty, but is even viewed as a call to get richer. In China now the slogan "Time is money" is again fashionable.

Recently the Chinese press and the pronouncements of political leaders and economists have addressed the utilization of capitalist methods of management and leadership more and more often. Under the cover of taking on everything

that is useful in capitalism, certain Chinese economists have taken the strange position that "capitalism must serve socialism." This political philosophy finds concrete expression in the widely popularized concept of "one country with two systems." An immediate result of this policy is the creation of "special economic zones," where certain special privileges are created for foreign capital. In its efforts to create the preconditions for attracting the greatest amount of foreign investment possible, Beijing is making excessively great concessions to capitalist firms. Essentially China is agreeing to create regions within its territory which have a non-socialist structure. This is the statute for the 14 "special economic zones" already opened up, and to which a number of large port cities have recently been added.

There exists a direct link between the general reform announced for the economic structure and the open door policy which has been conducted. In the words of Zhao Ziyang, the economic reform now being put in place will serve as a stimulus for the open door policy. There is no doubt in this case that we are talking about inevitable compromises with the private sector and corresponding compromises with foreign capital in the so-called special economic zones, in which the market and the capitalist economic forms are developed without limitations.

#### The Beginnings of a Market for Capital

Borrowing elements from the capitalist economic mechanism is not all that we see in the totality of the special economic zones. They find partial application in various sectors of the economy and in other regions of the country. Because of the reforms announced, curious facts and commentaries have appeared in the press there, which reveal certain new tendencies in economic life in China. For example, the changes that have occurred in the villages in the last few years have provided the foundation for certain observers to reach the conclusion that a peculiar "decollectivization" is being introduced into Chinese agriculture. The foundations for such conclusions are seen in a number of directives, which have actually led to the denigration of communes and to the return of land to individual families to work for lengthy periods of time. In accordance with the new directives, the agricultural families may make agreements about the use of specified parcels of land for up to 15 years or more. This leads to the almost total liquidation of collective farming. As a result of the new policy, individual villagers have acquired excessively large assets. Reports have come through to the foreign press that certain villagers are buying expensive equipment and earning fabulous sums. Despite how strange it sounds, the press has reported on villagers who have purchased an airplane with their own money for agricultural activity. Information has appeared about the owner of a bus who competes with public transportation and about other phenomena of a similar nature. Although it sounds anecdotal, these cases give witness to the excessive vitality of the private sector in Chinese agriculture, where the reforms have been carried out intensively in the last few years.

We are already observing the beginnings of private enterprise, primarily in the handicrafts. There was a report in the press about the owner of a

workshop that produces glass cotton. A total of 300 people work under him, all relatives of his, because now only members of the family can work in a private enterprise. Reports have appeared that individual firms are already selling shares with the right of ownership. Commenting on this economic pragmatism, the West German press writes that the beginnings all in place for a capital market.

It is difficult to say now what the results of the reforms announced will be. But the assumptions of the mayor of Shanghai are not to be ignored. He feels that, as a result of the policy of one country with two systems, a new economic structure could be formed in that nation.

The reforms of course evoke definite disagreement within Chinese society. As RENMIN RIBAO writes, "The people are waiting impatiently for the theoreticians to explain how the economic reform will be combined with Marxism and if they are not a serious step in the direction of capitalism."

12334

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION EXPLAINED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Dec 84 p 1

[Editorial: "A Front Without Truce"]

[Text] An answer to the question of where to search for the reasons behind and the basic relationships of the current intensification of the ideological struggle should be based on the Leninist concept of the unity and mutual interrelationships between the main forms of class struggle. This struggle is being influenced on the one hand by the growing successes of the socialist community and on the other hand by the intensifying crises of capitalism. The fundamental revolutionary currents of the contemporary period also play an important role in this struggle. The dynamic development of the socialist countries, the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries, and the national liberation and anticolonial struggles of Third World countries are all interrelated in the formation of a common anti-imperialist front struggling for peace, peaceful coexistence, democracy, national independence, and social progress.

The countries of the socialist community are in the process of implementing extensive and comprehensive socioeconomic programs. Efforts to intensify production and speed up R&D progress are being combined with a struggle to see to it that the multifaceted capabilities of the socialist social system are used as well and effectively as possible in the service of humanity.

The class basis of the dangerous posture of the reactionary administration of the United States and its NATO allies is clear. They are attempting to stop the objective and inevitable progressive changes in the life of humanity, and to regain their previously and permanently forfeited position.

Imperialism, which has suffered a number of defeats in the past 20 years, is now mounting intensive attacks against the socialist community, individual socialist states, and against Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the objective of influencing the consciousness and actions of the people of these countries. It is attempting to stop the increasing influence of the ideas of real socialism.

These programs are internally consistent. In socialist society, as the first society in history to be consciously designed and implemented, the consciousness and conviction of the people is of exceptional importance.

The impact of bourgeois anticommunist ideology becomes clear if one begins with a definition of the basis and function of ideology as class consciousness, as a set of views, experiences, and preconceptions by means of which a given class sees itself and reflects its position at a given time, and through which it implements concepts and prospects for its evolution, established goals, and allocates resources and techniques for reaching them. In this connection it is the proletarian, socialist ideology which emerges as an important, integrating, and focusing factor. And it is for this reason that bourgeois propaganda centers place such importance on ideological confrontation, ideological subversion and psychological warfare against the countries of the socialist community.

In developed capitalist countries, especially the United States, the ruling circles are advocating the spread of the theory of neoconservatism. This theory is linked with anticommunism, national chauvinism, and is very close to neofascism. The basic theoretical position of this ideology has been succinctly expressed by the bourgeois theoretician Norman Podhoretz in his book "The Present Danger." In it he expresses the imperative of an uncompromising struggle with communism, mainly against the Soviet Union, using all available resources. "Either we will destroy communism or communism will destroy all freedom and progressiveness in the United States and Western society," he states.

According to Podhoretz, the maintenance of freedom requires the coercive action of the United States in the world arena. This implies the need for the United States to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union so as to be able to dispose of all forces that might oppose this policy both in the United States and in the countries of the Western alliance. Not only the communist party but also peace movements are considered within this context to be unfriendly and doomed.

The neoconservatives criticize the social programs of bourgeois governments and urge them to channel their support to large-scale capitalist enterprise. The basis of a "healthy" and wealthy society is, according to them, prospering entrepreneurs. The remnants of the formerly highly touted social programs have only caused people to become lazy and society to decline morally. On the contrary, harsh social conditions in their view breed hardened workers and lead to the founding of competitive capitalist private enterprise.

In this world view a socialist society, as a society which strives primarily to implement a broad humanitarian social program, as a society of humanism and human emancipation, is worthy of nothing other than rejection and destruction.

Official contemporary bourgeois ideology is literally saturated with anti-communism. The main center of the ideological influence of the United States on other countries (not only socialist countries and the USSR, but other Third World countries) is the United States Information Agency, known by the acronym USIA. It encompasses divisions for education and culture, a center for technical and cultural exchanges between East and West, a ministry of foreign affairs, a radio transmission department, and a number of

periodicals, through which it focuses its activity on ideological penetration abroad with quite specific objectives: to win over certain countries to U.S. policies, to secure a position for American multinational corporations in Third World countries, to justify American military presence in various parts of the world, and mainly to conduct subversive propaganda and ideological subversion against the USSR and the entire socialist community.

The staff for this psychological warfare, and the center of NATO ideological subversion, has become the so-called Committee for Information and Cultural Relations. Its goals have been clearly established: to develop techniques of ideological warfare against communism, analyze information concerning politics within the USSR, and to use this information to improve its anti-communist propaganda.

Similar tone, content and counterpropaganda techniques can be encountered in international radio and television broadcasting. For instance, the well-known broadcasts of the Voice of America have recently been managed by people of a very conservative mind set who have been conducting a campaign of lies and slander against the socialist community that is clearly designed to destabilize the socialist order. Particularly in its coverage of events in Poland the USIA is devoting most of its attention in its propagandistic programs to union and youth organizations, and their impact on teachers and students at colleges.

Pressure from emigrant groups is along the same lines. Emigrant pressure today is more widely differentiated than previously. This is allegedly so that it can cover all levels of society, but primarily youth and the workers. Clerical anticommunism occupies an important role here. There currently exist in the world several dozen religious organizations and institutions the objective of which is not pastoral work but ideological and subversive activities. These organizations publish hundreds of pamphlets, bulletins and other anticommunist, nationalist, and chauvinist periodicals.

This focus of ideological subversion on what are, on the whole, practical and political issues does not mean that they have stopped being interested in "traditional" problems such as human rights, the praising of bourgeois democracy, the condemnation and criticism of communist totalitarianism, in short the entire political, economic, and military defense policies of the countries of real socialism.

In this regard, one must remember that when one speaks of anticommunism as a clear and important manifestation of militant imperialism one should not underestimate the negative and dangerous influence of those bourgeois and petty trends such as revisionism, opportunism, social democratism, etc.

A characteristic aspect of the backwardness of current bourgeois ideology is its links with political clericalism. Such an energetically pronounced ecumenicalism has a transparently political and not theological motivation. Its purpose is to unite the church as an institution and the believers in a crusade, a sort of a "holy war" against communism.



The most important role of our ideological work is more thoroughly to formulate differentiated strategies and techniques for the struggle with different variants of bourgeois anticommunist ideological conceptions. At the same time, ideological impact cannot be divorced from the resolution of our daily socioeconomic problems. The professionalism, flexibility, and differentiated character of counterpropaganda work, supported by the concrete achievements of real socialism, is the best guarantee of its effectiveness.

9276

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REVISIONISM, ANTICOMMUNISM ATTACKED

Prague TVORBA in Czech 3 Jan 85 Supplement pp 1-8

[Article by Ladislav Hrzal: "The Place and Role of Rightwing Revisionism, Social Reformism, and Leftist Radicalism in the Plans of Contemporary Anti-communism"]

[Excerpts] The main characteristic line of world development at the beginning of the 1980's is the sharply intensifying antagonism of the two opposing world systems. It is an intensification of the ideological struggle of two opposing worldviews, whose main proponents are the socialist society on the one hand and world imperialism on the other. This process has no equivalent in the entire postwar period. Marxist-Leninist theory provides communist parties with the basic point of departure for their views and the evaluation of the nature of contemporary world class antagonism, the further development of the world balance of power, the revolutionary process and the tasks of the communist and workers' movement in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and social reformism. Its application and development make it possible to see and evaluate the conflicts and combat of the opposing class powers in the world in a historical perspective.

For the international workers' movement, the basic slogan with which the Manifesto ends is still valid: "Workers of the world, unite!" The unity of the international workers and communist movement was and still is the greatest mortal danger for the overlordship of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the bourgeois ideologists, various revisionists, and dissidents have done and are doing everything possible, both in theory and in practice, to disrupt and destroy this unity.

The revisionists, as well as the dogmatists, actually are falsifying the teachings of Marx and Engels. Rightwing revisionists of various types write about the transition of capitalism into socialism and attempt to show "proof" of the integration of the working class into the state's monopolistic system. The modern working class (supposedly as far as we can still speak of one, since it is allegedly disappearing) is conforming, while supposedly other strata of the capitalistic society are becoming revolutionary, especially the humanistic intelligentsia and the students. Ideologists of "democratic socialism" write about cooperation between the classes, if they recognize their existence at all any more, about social partnerships, about participation in management,

about multiple patriotism, etc. The different variations of "democratic socialism" and Eurocommunism are proof of how classes and the class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat are "understood" by the ideologists of revisionism, social reformism, and leftist radicalism.

In its class makeup, revisionism is a petit bourgeois movement within Marxism. It is an expression of the moods of the petit bourgeois elements who, at critical moments in the development of the workers' movement, reject the proletarian party spirit and discipline and try to find some kind of compromise, middle-of-the-road position between those of the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is an ideological reflection of the class attitude of the petit bourgeoisie which vacillates between the two main forces of modern society and approaches first one and then the other, depending on what the actual situation is and what power and influence the bourgeoisie or the proletariat has.

Revisionism in its commonest and most widespread form directs its attention mainly at practical political questions. It revises the main elements of Marxism-Leninism, which are their teachings on the struggle, revolution, and the leading role of the party, as well as the thesis on the various forms of transition to socialism and the possibility of a peaceful parliamentary transition to socialism.

We cannot pass judgment on the social meaning of revisionism according to the internal motives of its proponents, but only according to the practical results. Whether they wish to or not, revisionists of all types objectively aid the bourgeoisie. Current revisionism performs the role of a movement in communism which destroys unity in the international workers' movement, abandons the revolutionary principles of the proletariat, and as a practical matter carries out antisocial actions.

The rightwing opportunist forces and revisionists of all types throughout their entire history of actions against the revolutionary Marxist movement have been very well aware of the importance of the class, ideological principle of Marxism-Leninism in evaluating the basic questions of the development of society. They therefore have attacked most the party and class nature of Marxism-Leninism and the class interpretation of society.

The attractiveness of Marxist-Leninist thought and the growth in authority and influence of the international workers' movement and real socialist excite the furious resistance of the class enemy. The bourgeoisie and its ideologists, opportunists, and revisionists of all shades increase the struggle against communism; they try to falsify Marxism-Leninism, to subvert its revolutionary basis, to sow and exploit conflicts between individual communist parties. They try to minimize the epochmaking importance of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the Great October Socialist Revolution and the successes of socialism and to discredit the international workers' and communist movement.

The historic power of Marxism-Leninism is to be found in its qualitatively new concept of theory and practice. The basis of the struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement, the policies of the working class, and those of its Marxist-Leninist party can only be a scientific recognition of the laws

of history. No irreconcilable conflicts can arise between Marxist-Leninist theory and the policies of the working class.

The principle of the nature of the communist party is not a weak point in this knowledge, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists maintain, but on the contrary stimulates this knowledge to more and more specific determination of individual subjects. It is an expression of the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory is a stranger to petty empiricism and pragmatism which reduce theory to an appendix to practice on the one hand and academic severing of theory on the other. It is just because of this that Marxist-Leninist theory has provided and continues to provide a philosophical and theoretical justification of the program, strategy, tactics, and policies of Marxist-Leninist parties, which lead the working class into battle against capitalism and for the building of a new, socialist society. The principle of the party's nature standardizes knowledge not only of discerning the profound laws of social development, but also of application and intensification of the unity of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice.

Objectivism, which constantly refers to the objective social laws, only apparently respects them and in reality is subjective. Therefore, the methodological basis of revisionism has been and still is the theory of elemental nature, that is, the corrupted Marxist concept of historical determinism which understands the objective laws of social development more or less fatalistically and conceives of historical necessity, especially the historical necessity of a transition to socialism, in the sense of an automatic development.

No revolutionary party is protected before the fact from errors and inadequacies, since the extent, size, and novelty of the tasks before it bring up many difficulties and barriers and also a number of basically new questions for which history has not given examples for their solutions. Errors and inadequacies are a result of the resolution and overcoming of complex conflicts, difficulties, and obstacles in the path on which the social forces move. Instead of actually correcting errors and overcoming inadequacies and other positive developments, however, many revisionists in Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1957 demanded only unrelenting criticism of the current conditions and waved Marx around in support. In actuality, they developed their own particular negative attitude toward building socialism, the communist party and Marxism-Leninism, and the entire international workers' and communist movement. Similar views also appeared at the same time in Poland, mainly in the works of A. Schaff.

Leninism as a creative development of Marxism, whose attraction and importance for workers throughout the world is constantly growing, is being attacked by the revisionists, who call upon, for example, the Italian and French communists to abandon Leninism and themselves develop Marxism in a creative manner without "foreign models." The example of individual "creative Marxists" who started with criticism of "Stalinism" and proceeded to criticize "Leninism" can show how revisionists here got farther and farther with the process of developments in 1968. It was not enough for them to achieve "democratization" and reject Lenin and Leninism or even to return to before February 1948, but finally, when they felt that they did not have to hide anything, they openly admitted

that they were after a return to before May 1945, a return to the pre-Munich bourgeois republic. This was actually the goal of those people for whom Leninism was a thorn in the side. It is understandable that the class enemy always fights mainly against what is most dangerous to him, and that is unquestionably Leninism, the Marxism of the 20th century.

One of the sources of rightwing revisionism is the string of processes and events which are characteristic for modern imperialism and even show up within the workers' movement. It is the display of a conservative tendency, especially in the United States and England, a strengthening and expansion of anti-communist and anti-Soviet feelings and policies. There are changes in the social and professional makeup of the modern working class of the capitalist countries, caused by both the scientific-technical revolution and the process of continuing monopolization of production and labor, accompanied by the flood of broad strata of the lesser bourgeoisie, destroyed by monopolistic capitalism, into the ranks of the working class.

Revisionism also feeds off the idea that it "solves" new problems and "gives answers" to the burning questions of current social development, which Marxist-Leninist theory so far has studied little or not sufficiently. Dogmatism, marching in place, mechanical repetition of old teachings when they do not meet new conditions, all this is grist for the revisionists' mill. The revisionistic pseudosolutions of new problems can temporarily deceive a certain part of the working class as well.

As far as specific forms in which modern rightwing revisionism appears, one must keep in mind two facts in particular: the revisionists emphasize their national relevance and national features and peculiarities; they attempt not to "distance" themselves from Marxism, the communist movement, and socialism and consciously simply do not want to separate from the Marxist parties and the revolutionary movement, since they would be found out and would lose ground for their subversive activities and pass over to the renegades, which would lose them trust. In actual fact, the conditions for the appearance and existence of revisionism are not national, but international. Moreover, the revisionists not only in ideology but also in fact form blocs in the global framework. They appear as an international movement whose motive power is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The general crisis of capitalism, accompanied by an intensification of all conflicts, creates new features and introduces substantial changes in the position of the working class and in the conditions and tasks of its struggle. One can point out such aspects of the social consequences of the crisis as the growth and differentiation of the working class, and the growth of social reform activities and the current attack of imperialism on the rights of the workers, trying to get out of the crisis at their expense. The process of rapid development of production forces under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution continues, along with the current intense cycle of crises in economics in recent years and difficulties in the application of the scientific-technical revolution, which affect the basic nature of the capitalist social system. While the avantgarde of the working class responds to these conflicts by renewed combat against large-scale capitalism, the revisionists,

true to their reformistic doctrine, adjust to the new conditions and attempt to reform the ideology and practice of the "third way," to find "new paths," such as "Eurocommunism," for example, which is basically the old, bankrupt concept of rightwing social reformism.

Modern revisionists, especially the "Eurocommunists" among them, consciously feed off the conflicts within the international workers' movement, questions of social development which have still not been resolved, mistakes which occur in the communist movement, persisting elements of formalism, bureaucratism, subjectivism, inflexibility, conservatism, and sometimes even a tardy understanding of new events in the individual socialist countries.

Eurocommunism in today's international workers' movement is dealing with warmed-over problems and rejects the leading role of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theory of socialist revolution, proletarian and socialist internationalism, and the principles of democratic centralism. Eurocommunism tries to show that national peculiarities are not being adequately respected, that the differences which stem from historical experiences of the individual national sections of the workers' movement are not being taken into consideration, that the various levels of maturity of productive forces in the individual countries are not taken into account, that the specific features of development of the national culture or political system are being overlooked, etc.

Some of its representatives declare Eurocommunism to be a movement which does not wish to determine universally applicable solutions. They start with the fact that the worldwide workers' movement is polycentric and that the role of Eurocommunism is to take part in the complicated process of strengthening and developing socialist ideals in Europe and the rest of the world. As far as relations between Western Europe and the developing countries are concerned, Eurocommunism wants to establish new relationships which would not be colonial or neocolonial and wants to contribute to strengthening a new economic order in the world based on equality, justice, and solidarity. Eurocommunism thus could be some kind of "third way" to socialism, a path which differs from those which were and are being followed by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist society. It is also supposed to differ substantially from the projects of the social democratic parties and from their practices. Eurocommunism thus proclaims a specific path to socialism which is supposed to correspond to actual historical conditions in any given country. It is thus a kind of "double rejection." On the one hand it rejects the experience of the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialist society, and on the other hand those attitudes and methods of the social democratic parties.

The Eurocommunist representatives right in the title of their ideological political orientation emphasize that they want to continue the tradition which, according to them, the actual socialist countries are missing, the tradition of bourgeois democracy. But in actual fact, they are idealizing the historical scheme which they took over from bourgeois political sociology. Their lack of understanding of history is moreover a geopolitical prejudice which holds everything in contempt which is not the idol of the Europeans.

Eurocommunism, just as all the various other branches of revisionists, does not, however, deal at all with the singular, unreplicative nature of development of this or that West European country. It deals instead with denying the universal nature and generally applicable objective laws of social development, tries to mislead the patriotic feelings of the masses of people in the West European countries to the path of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Sovietism, and attempts to rob the proletariat of the West European countries of the ideological weapon and the key to understanding modern social processes in the capitalist and socialist countries, that is, Leninism.

They emphasize the particular nature of things in order to negate the general importance of Leninist theory and practice in the socialist revolution in Russia and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist society. In the course of every actual revolution of our times, with all their national peculiarities, singularity, and nonreplicative nature, there occur problems which Lenin and the Soviet communists resolved and situations occur which require substantially the same solutions, despite their particular nature, singularity, nonreplicative nature, and national peculiarities. This is true not at all because they copy the October Revolution, but because there exist objective laws in the struggle for socialism.

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the principal line of its entire ideological and political life has been and still is the fight against revisionism and bourgeois ideology and for a creative development of Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is an important manifestation of the internal laws for the existence of a new type of party, the party of V. I. Lenin. It is the decisive condition for a definitive victory of socialism over capitalism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in its fight against revisionism has also learned and is continuing to learn from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its fight against revisionism. Each time we have ignored or underrated their experience, it has made it possible for opportunists and bourgeois ideologists to influence the working class. It is no accident that revisionists therefore have attacked and still attack studies of Soviet experiences, and no accident that in 1968 they terrorized everyone among us who defended Leninism and our alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union itself.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is an inseparable part of the international communist movement and it bears in mind that within the international communist movement there today are appearing more or less rightwing revisionist, opportunist, and leftist-sectarian and nationalist tendencies. These tendencies objectively weaken the operational and ideological political unity of the movement and make its struggle for current and long-term goals more complicated. The CPCZ, however, believes that differences in opinion and disagreements can be overcome in the interests of the common fight against imperialism.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK INSTITUTE OF PSYCHOLOGY TAKES STOCK

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Dr Maria Bratska, CSc, and Dr Tatiana Tarockova, CSc, Comenius University Institute of Psychology, Bratislava: "Institute of Psychology at Work"]

[Text] Based on the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and on the subsequent plenum of the CPS Central Committee, our entire society has been paying paramount attention to the requirement of accelerating the pace of research and development, especially of its implementation in the field. That is why many scientific and research institutes are evaluating their results and elaborating further plans. Such activities are also pursued in the Bratislava Institute of Psychology of the Comenius University.

Within its existence of almost 27 years the institute has grown into a unit assuming an irreplaceable position in the network of psychological institutions in the CSSR. It plays a significant role in the development of theoretical thinking, as well as in solving ideological and conceptual questions when applying psychology in the everyday life of socialist society. The institute has become a solid base for psychological inquiry, and, during the last two 5-year plans, also a mainstay of the broadly conceived interdisciplinary cooperation among the branches of the Comenius University School of Philosophy. Its effect was evident in the process of solving the tasks of the state plan for basic research, of the field research plan, and when working on the Universal Program of Social Sciences after the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

The tasks are being solved by the employees of four departments, namely: the Department of Theory and Methodology of Psychological Sciences, the Department of Biodynamic and Counseling Psychology, the Department of Comparative Psychology, and the Development Center for Psychological Instrumentation.

During the current 5-year plan the institute serves as a coordination center, being also one of the organizations entrusted with solving the main task of the state plan for basic research, that is "The Evolution of Personality in the Conditions of Building a Developed Socialist Society." Furthermore, people in the institute work on a partial assignment of the state plan for economic research, namely "The Process of the Socialist Man's Personality Formation,"



and "The Way of Life in the Conditions of a Developed Socialist Society." A direct sequel of these tasks, with regard to the method of solving employed, will be the research task "Evolution of Personality in the Conditions of a Developed Socialist Society--An Analysis of Subjective and Objective Factors and Trends in the Social Evolution of Personality." This task has been selected to serve as perspective bearings for the scientific and research activities of social sciences in the Comenius University during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The results of the scientific and research tasks under inquiry are in close connection with the field. Their application is feasible in spheres such as culture, information, journalism, as well as in the education of psychology specialists and also in counseling services for young people and adults. Conclusions reached in solving partial assignments contribute to cognitive development in the theory of psychology, and their continuous implementation is an asset in the fields of psychology, pedagogy, economics and social life in general. At the same time, many employees of the institute either deliver or audit lectures on general, counseling, comparative and social psychology, on the history and methodology of psychology. They participate in seminars for, and training of, interns of the Department of Psychological Sciences of the Comenius University School of Philosophy, and also specialize in giving courses for psychologists in the field. The institute's experts and scientists took care of both the organization and contents of psychological courses for foremen of the associate enterprise Kablo. They act as counselors, helping students in their learning, scientific and special activities, and giving practical advice to managers of the Counseling Office for University Students and the Counseling Office for Employees. The date 1 March 1984 represents the final stage of the 15-year successful activities of the Counseling Office for University Students, being at the same time a milestone in the beginning of a new period. On this date there took place the opening of the Psychological Counseling Office for University Students on the premises of the Mlynska Dolina dormitories.

Many important results of scientific and research activities were achieved due to the interdisciplinary cooperation of the institute with other Czechoslovak institutions' teams involved in solving similar tasks. Nevertheless, our institute has to grapple with certain problems, such as procrastination in the application of research results in the field. Attesting to this fact are several finished and published projects, basically approved by higher authorities, and with considerable response both here and abroad, but which so far have been waiting years in vain for creative implementation. Of course, there are more problems. To overcome them, all employees will be required to exert even more initiative in their scientific and research activities, while organization and management will have to be improved as well.

9910

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LAW, ORDER IN CSSR DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Fejes, JD, CSSR prosecutor general: "The Consistent Practice of Law, Discipline, and Order"]

[Excerpts] Attacks on the economy are somewhat different from other crimes in the sense that their perpetrators come from an exceptionally diverse group that includes the usual antisocial elements, recidivists who are avoiding honest work, as well as individuals in managerial and other positions who otherwise have exceptional reputations as citizens and employees and who often have college educations. People with this latter sort of background are associated with various forms of this type of crime, ranging from primitive and arbitrary theft to bold and often impeccably organized deceptions, con-games, the falsification of economic data, wage machinations and bribery.

One specific characteristic of crimes directed at the economy, and especially of certain forms of the theft of socialist property, bribery, the misuses of the authority of public office, and attacks on labor discipline, is that they sometimes have an impact on other crimes of a noneconomic nature. It is possible to demonstrate a connection between the environment at certain workplaces and the actions of the perpetrators of other crimes such as parasitism and the avoidance of required support.

A serious ancillary phenomenon of most economic crimes is harm in the political sphere. People tend at times incorrectly to generalize the crime itself of the personality of the perpetrators and to attribute the moral shortcomings of individuals to the socialist form of management or even to party policies. This problem is particularly serious once a crime has been uncovered that was made possible by insufficient control or other defects in managerial work, or when senior managers, elected national committee officials, cooperative officials, or officials of public organizations are apprehended.

The reasons for attacks on the socialist economy or the circumstances which make them possible are sufficiently well known.

The primary objective reasons are:

- the influence of local, sectoral or group interests and pressures;
- temporary disproportions within the economic sphere;

- difficulties in satisfying certain citizen needs;
- shortcomings in control activities.

The subjective factors are:

- bourgeois remnants;
- attempts by organizations to circumvent the basic principle of socialist compensation--the proportionality of compensation to actual merit;
- indifference on the part of some organizations to their own shortcomings, the failure to determine the causes of such shortcomings and the failure to report any suspicion of criminal activity to the prosecutor or divisions of the National Security Commission [SNB];
- regressions in legal consciousness;
- low level of legal knowledge;
- temptations in the work of certain managers that occur as a result of efforts to avoid conflicts.

Of these generally known reasons for economic crimes and the environments that make them possible, particular emphasis should be placed on local, sectoral, or group interests. These are phenomena that should be completely foreign to a socialist society.

Group influences foster most of the crimes against economic discipline and the theft of socialist property. The principal negative impact of these influences is on public morality. If the public interest as codified in laws and other regulations is violated at times quite openly in favor of individual interests, a dual morality can arise and exist, resulting in a regression in socialist legal consciousness.

This is a very risky situation especially for young people. When young people are first leaving their families and schools and beginning to work for a living, they are especially vulnerable. When young people in this especially sensitive period encounter either disrespect or the open violation of laws, especially by people who should be cultivating a respect for these laws in them, there is the danger that they will develop the impression that laws can be avoided, an impression they carry with them for the rest of their lives. A further danger for youth is that this lack of respect for the law will be transmitted from the workplace to other aspects of life, thereby creating the preconditions for a generally antisocial attitude.

For many young people the existence of a dual morality and the open violation of laws can lead to the destruction of current values and the development of a psychological weakness that is manifested in delinquent behavior or, sometimes, in a phlegmatic passivity, or in an attitude of adapting to situations and attempting to profit from them.

Many apprehended criminals, especially of the while-collar variety, have made their mistakes because they thought that their incorrect decisions would contribute to the good of their factory, sector, or collective, or that by

acting they would be executing the wishes of a supervisor or other agencies. In this way the principle that "what is good for the enterprise is good for the society" has been improperly transferred to an area where individual interests come in contact with the public good, as this is codified and protected by laws and the criminal code.

This aspect of criminal activity involves a violation of general morality and socialist legality, and above all of one of its basic principles, namely that the law applies equally to everyone, independent of his social standing in the environment where the law was violated.

In this regard it is appropriate to note another aspect of criminal activity, namely the inequitable application of legality to the recognition of individual merit and individual accountability.

Our society devotes a maximum of attention to incentives influencing the behavior and work of all categories of workers. An inseparable part of this attention is the evaluation of the role of individuals in overall achieved results. A widely implemented and proven system of determining merit for work performance has led to the implementation of all kinds of bonuses, premiums, awards, and other personal recognition. There also exists a system, although it should function much better than it does now, for determining who is responsible for failures, damages, disruptions, and other negative phenomena.

The legal code for determining personal responsibility in the CSSR consists of a complex of interrelated measures which provide for countermeasures of varying intensities. These begin with warnings (not even sanctions) such as compensating for damages, reductions of bonuses in public organizations, etc., continue with sanctions against senior managers or other, mainly inspection and control agencies, and end with standard punishments under the misdemeanor or criminal codes.

The determination of personal responsibility is not and cannot be something in the life of society that is rather not discussed, or something of which society should be ashamed and prefer to hide. On the contrary, one of the signs and criteria for the degree of consolidation and strength of any society is the possibility, will, and ability to assure compliance with its laws, including the levying of punishments on those individuals who violate these laws.

In some organizations the dialectical balance in the determination or assessment of personal responsibility has been disrupted. There are frequent positive evaluations of individual performance. Cases involving the fixing of personal responsibility are only rarely taken care of by divisions of the organization concerned. Much more often they are resolved by action on the part of external agencies (people's control commissions, supervisory agencies, Public Safety, various inspection agencies). On many occasions closer study of the available documentation yields a stereotypical deformation consisting of the division of tasks between external agencies, whose task is to be the "bad cop," and internal divisions, whose role is to protect its own people, its own organization, its own locality, to search for excuses and objective reasons.

In fact, such instances involve incomplete compliance with the law, which has negative implications not only for morale but also for the production process itself.

Our success in limiting criminality and strengthening socialist legality, morale and discipline is determined primarily by how successful we are in uncovering all crimes and every perpetrator, so that every violation of socialist legality is punished. In this context matters are far from satisfactory.

The work of the agencies involved in corrections and criminological research indicates that so far only a small proportion of our citizens are actively involved in thwarting attacks on the socialist economy, and that there exists a certain indifference to these attacks, such as for instance against the theft of personal property. Still more serious is the finding that domestic control agencies also do not properly fulfill their role in discovering and reporting antisocial activities.

The findings of the prosecutor attest to the fact that the level of fulfillment of these responsibilities is still unsatisfactory. Indeed, most of the shortcomings continue to occur in the reporting of crimes of an economic nature. This is also true of control agencies. On many occasions when there has been suspicion of a crime or misdemeanor the control agencies, in violation of section 40, paragraph 1 of Decree No 75/1959, OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Czechoslovak Republic, have neither informed the prosecutor in a timely fashion nor discussed the matter with him. At present the practice is to postpone indictment for a crime until inspections or investigations have been completed. This stretches out and complicates the legal process.

In spite of the fact that the criminal code puts the burden of reporting a crime on the organization, the actual course of events depends greatly on the moral qualities of the individuals who occupy the responsible positions in a given organization.

The motives of those who do not fulfill their reporting functions can be divided into approximately four groups:

--The principal motivation for not reporting crimes is indifference to the protection of socialist property and to the public interest generally.

--A second group of motivations results from an improper understanding of the concept of "moral reservations." Specifically, the individual responsible for reporting a crime does not want to be considered an informer. This is a remnant of the old understanding of the relationship between the individual and the state. The resistance to "informing," which is often motivated by the existence of personal scores, is understandable and to an extent justified. To the extent, however, that it is improperly extended to apply to the reporting of crimes it can benefit only those who are harming the interests of society.

--The third group includes people who would be willing to report a crime but who are afraid that to do so would have unpleasant consequences for them, especially because of the position of the individual involved in the criminal activity.

--The fourth group includes those who do not actually participate in a crime but who benefit from it. This is the case when economic crimes are motivated by group interests, such as those of an enterprise or a cooperative. These types of crimes benefit not only the perpetrators but also a somewhat wider circle of indirectly involved people who understandably have no incentive to report the activity.

All of the above is closely related to legal consciousness. Legal consciousness is a component of public consciousness that we understand to be a reflection of legal norms in the consciousnesses of individuals, and as the relationship of individuals to these norms and to laws generally.

While research has indicated that the level of legal consciousness is fairly high, this is true mainly of an understanding of the damage of criminal activity to society. The awareness declines in regard to specific cases, and this decline is especially evident in a lack of willingness on the part of individuals to participate in a public reaction to the violation of the law.

To increase the level of citizen legal consciousness we must continue to conduct comprehensive educational programs. The most effective means, however, for influencing the views of our citizens is the proper and consistent application of the principle mentioned above, namely that no violation of socialist legality be allowed to go unpunished.

Of particular importance is the increased effectiveness of the work of the entire control system, and especially the agencies of internal control. Control agencies must be able more readily and objectively to determine the existence of shortcomings without being influenced by sectoral, group or local influences. It is essential to improve continually professional qualifications and the economic knowledge of employees of the control system because on many occasions very sophisticated antisocial activity can be discovered and proven only by someone with as much knowledge of a given area as the perpetrator.

An inseparable part of socialist education must continue to be the systematic development of legal education and propaganda in all its forms.

In particular, it is necessary to strengthen the atmosphere of intolerance toward any type of antisocial activity, toward any failure to fulfill legal responsibilities, and toward lack of respect for the rights of one's fellow citizens. With this in mind, we must acquaint workers with the basic principles of our socialist legal order.

Agencies of the correctional system will continue to pursue their cooperation with the mass communications media and attempt to make their impact on the improvement of legal consciousness as convincing and effective as possible.

9276

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VATICAN DUPLICITY ASSAILED

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 17 Jan 85 p 23

/Article by Dr Ondrej Danyi: "Double Standard"/

/Text/ Pope John Paul II inherited a difficult task from his predecessors, namely, to cope with the consequences stemming from the basic contradictions of our times, from the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, and to see to it that the church finds, on the basis of the resolutions adopted at the Second Vatican Council, a realistic attitude toward the present problems and thus at least partially delays the process of secularization and growing internal crisis within the church.

The review of Vatican policy so far shows that in evaluating the problems of humanity as well as practical policy, the Vatican has usually adopted a double standard.

Many speeches delivered by John Paul II have clearly indicated the present foreign policy orientation of the Vatican. Through his statements that the United States is the hope of humanity, the pope has placed the weight of the Catholic Church's authority behind the strongest imperialist power and against the socialist world.

The foreign trips of John Paul II are carefully chosen and take place in those areas where the interests of the church are most threatened and which contain the strongest centers of resistance against imperialism, neocolonialism, and war.

Everybody knows about the documents issued by the Vatican prohibiting priests to take part in peace, trade union, or similar organizations. The document of the Vatican Clerical Congregation of April 1982 also directed this ban--in addition to priests in developing countries and Western Europe--at those priests in socialist countries who take part in religious peace organizations. The voice of peace-loving priests sounds unpleasant--as it has sounded in the past--to the ears of the enemies of socialism, peace, and progress, especially because in many respects their voice is identical with the policy of the socialist countries.



The political activity of bishops and priests in emigre and other anticommunist organizations is viewed by the Vatican differently from the political activity of those who work in the peace movement or organizations and whose goal is to relieve the poor of their poverty and suffering. John Paul II has never criticized the political activity of the 5 bishops and 16 clerics who hold high positions in the presidium and the Main Advisory Board of the emigre clerical-nationalist organization, the so-called World Congress of Slovaks /SKS/. He has not even hinted that three life chairmen of the SKS, Namely, A. Grutka, M. Rusnak and D. Hrusovsky, should halt their political activities. Dr Hrusovsky, prefect of the Slovak Institute of Cyril and Methodius in Rome, directs the activities of priests and monks of Slovak origin in exile who engage not only in religious but also in political and antisocialist activity among the emigres. The workers of the Slovak Institute of Cyril and Methodius are in charge of a substantial part of the anti-Czechoslovak broadcasts of Vatican Radio.

Bishop P. Hnilica, who is member of the SKS Main Advisory Board, enjoys the special favor of John Paul II. P. Hnilica misses no opportunity to attack communism and socialism. The content of his antisocialist publications shows the direction of his "advisory service" to the World Congress of Slovaks.

Another member of the Main Advisory Board is Bishop D. Kalata. Former members of the Hlinka Academic Guard, the functionaries of the Center of Slovak Catholic Students and their successors consider him a spiritual leader of the Center of Slovak Catholic Intelligentsia, an organization which in everybody's mind has a political character.

Also included in the SKS Advisory Board are the Jesuit S. Sencik from Vatican Radio: P. Litva from the Gregorian University in Rome; V. Danco, head of the Center of Slovak Jesuits in Canada, where the SKS program was put together; Reverend M. Durica from Padua University, considered by emigre circles as an "expert" on the ideology and politics of the clerical-fascist state; and former monk S. Polakovic, known as the court philosopher to the president of the clerical-fascist state, J. Tiso.

These and other clerics from the ranks of emigres sit in the World Congress of Slovaks side by side with the former diplomats of the Slovak state J. Mikus, A. Grebert, and the bankrupt politicians J. Stasko, V. Bucko and E. Bohm, and offer advice to the acting deputy chairman of the SKS J. Kirschbaum, former secretary general of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, and J. Kruzliak, former press chief of the clerical-fascist state and for many years editor for Radio Free Europe.

What they are advising and what they are dreaming of is known from their publications, their scripts broadcast by the seditious radio stations, and from their speeches at various revanchist rallies and other gatherings of the enemies of socialist Czechoslovakia. This is a counterrevolutionary and antipeople policy which, nevertheless, is subject to a different standard by the Vatican. Not only has the Vatican never banned such a policy, it has always supported it.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN CALLS FOR COMMITTED SCIENCE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 85 p 2

[Excerpts] The 47th Plenary Meeting of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV], held in Prague on Tuesday, was addressed by Central Committee Secretary Josef Havlin. The following is a substantial portion of his presentation:

Your deliberations on serious CSAV problems are taking place at a time when our society is entering the final year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, during which final decisions will be made on how successfully to meet all the goals and tasks set forth by the 16th CPCZ Congress, including those applicable to the scientific and technological sphere.

Today's CSAV assembly deals with all of these great tasks in a situation in which the results achieved in the fulfillment of the state plan for basic research during the preceding 4 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan have been good and demonstrate that the CSAV, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, by far the majority of their institutes and personnel, as well as the institutions of higher learning, have approached this task fulfillment with great responsibility.

We, therefore, appreciate that we have been able to formulate a basic research plan recently which is more responsive than heretofore to the practical needs of our society. This was also made clear by the fact that the application of the conclusions adopted at the Eighth Central Committee Plenum on the tasks of the state plan for basic research, to which both academies made a substantial contribution, is basically correct and essentially reflects the approved long-term orientation of scientific and technological development.

Our party and state leadership is convinced that it is precisely in the CSAV institutes, at universities and their management agencies, that we see a concentration of the enormous incentive capacity which is capable of resolving even the most complicated problems which stem from--and will continue to accompany--the building of an advanced socialist society in our country and in the entire community of socialist states. We must, therefore, make sure

that assets not yet fully utilized are quickly put in motion, not only in the CSAV but everywhere, so that they may serve the people to the greatest extent possible. Naturally, we too must contribute to this through our own scientific endeavor and make sure that this effort is projected into the everyday life and labor of society. I do not hesitate to say that we will have to confront demanding risks more than once, stick our necks out, as the saying goes, and help our party to implement its policies, even in the face of still surviving conservative views, at times even timidity or speculation, and often vacillation, in other words, manifestations which occur even in a socialist society. I want to assure you that in this effort you will have the full support of our party and state leadership.

It is good that the management of both academies, in harmony with the policy of the communist party and socialist state, strives for yet more effective utilization of our research capacities, their more purposeful concentration on new tasks, so important for the needs of our national economic development. This overall positive trend will in the coming period have to be not only maintained but further intensified. This reflects not only the nature of your work itself, but also the fact that we have no right to waste financial, material and human resources on research which demonstrably produces no desirable benefits for society. This we must remember when elaborating the proposed basic research plan for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This applies not only to general orientation but especially to the selection of concrete tasks for research collectives and individuals. The responsibility for this rests primarily on you, the managers and top researchers. It is also up to you to make sure that all planned research tasks are really necessary, that sufficient resources are available to accomplish them in a relatively short period, corresponding to the rapid tempo of world scientific development.

Therefore, it is necessary that particularly the CSAV Presidium and the Presidium of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, as well as individual management panels and institute directorates, strive with even more determination for yet higher concentration of forces and means on priority tasks which accelerate the transition to a more intensive development of our society. They must see to it that our scientists and researchers better apply world scientific discoveries, and integrate universities and other government departments into this process to a much greater degree. Equally important is the constant struggle to intensify the multilateral and highly effective cooperation with the other socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union.

The goals of the not-too-distant future and the tasks stemming from them require even greater boldness in approaching the establishment of the best possible structure in our scientific effort, in harmony with the requirements of science, as well as practical application. In evaluating the scientific institutes we must, therefore, not only consider their achievements but also

assess them in terms of how their standards in individual scientific disciplines compare with the world level. If we consider our evaluation from this point of view, we must admit that, despite real positive results and the sincere efforts of the basic research staffs, we are still far from reaching the planned and needed objectives.

What is a good sign, however, is that the number and quality of findings put to practical use is gradually growing. There still remain considerable differences, however, among institutes and collectives in the extent and level of their work suitable for practical application. We unquestionably have scientific institutes whose work matches world standards but, unfortunately, we also have collectives dealing with already known findings, at times even those which have already been applied in practice elsewhere. Such a situation is made possible by the fact that institutes, collectives and even individuals still use different criteria and requirements in their work. It is especially repugnant to have certain staffers shelter their lack of productivity behind empty theorizing which does not lead to new knowledge or any benefit for society. We must insist that each and every scientific worker not only be capable of performing at the required scientific level, but also strive for application of the results in practice. The responsibility of you, prominent representatives of our science, in this problem is unique and cannot be passed on to anyone else.

Permit me to touch upon another problem. As is generally known, Vladimir Ilich Lenin already warned that the final victory of communism over capitalism can be achieved only on the basis of higher productivity of labor. We know that contemporary imperialism is trying to prevent this process in every way, that it is striving to discredit real socialism and that its aim is to weaken it and eventually liquidate it. We can put a halt to this dangerous imperialist policy only through higher economic, political, and defense capability of the socialist community. Science must play a dignified role in this effort. I am reminding you of these known realities mainly to have you remember again their gravity and approach the assessment of our findings and their application in practice from this vantage point.

Scientific advances and their rapid application in practice, a goal we are all striving for, also require the creation of appropriate material and personnel prerequisites. The ever-growing penetration of science into social practice is conditioned not only by scientific advances proper but also by a constant growth of the political, cultural and educational level of our people, especially the young, so that the broadest strata of our citizens are able and willing to relate to science, to accept it, promote it and apply it in practice. Thus, an important task of our science and the whole educational system is to create prerequisites for overcoming negative phenomena in our society, and assist in the effective formulation of our people's socialist consciousness. The struggle for this socialist consciousness in today's class-divided world, in which we find

growing political, ideological and military aggression on the part of imperialism, demands that our scientists always act, at home and abroad, as socialist scientists. In practice this means that not only social but also natural and technical sciences must more offensively develop their ideological functions, and expose the unscientific and reactionary theories and approaches of our opponent. Indeed, science is not, nor can it be, neutral. As we know, its achievements can be used for the benefit of humanity or misused as an instrument threatening its very existence. Therefore, scientific advance aimed at the preservation of world peace, social justice, beneficial living environment and health, must be a matter of honor for each and every socialist scientist.

9496

CSO: 2400/210

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS REPRESENTATIVES VISIT LUCAN

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] On Tuesday, Deputy CSSR Premier Matej Lucan received representatives of churches and religious societies active in the CSSR in the Hrzansky Palace in Prague.

The friendly reception of representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Association of Catholic Priests Pacem in Terris, as well as representatives of non-Catholic churches and religious societies took place at the beginning of the jubilee year 1985, when all the Czechoslovak people will observe the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak peoples' national liberation struggle and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

Matej Lucan noted the successes achieved by our socialist society last year and reminded us of the complicated international situation caused by the dangerous policies of the ruling circles in the United States. In this connection, he expressed appreciation of the role of church and religious officials in Czechoslovakia in the effort to avert war and preserve peace.

Representatives of all the churches and religious societies active in our state expressed their support for the CSSR Government in its current effort for further progress in our homeland, for the preservation of peace in the world and for deepening friendship among nations.

The reception was attended by the Czech minister of culture, Milan Klusak. Also present were the director of the secretariat for religious affairs, Vladimir Janku, and other personalities.

9496

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COORDINATION OF RESEARCH WITH PRODUCTION URGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 85 p 1

/Editorial: "Creative Approach and Courage"/

/Excerpt/ Socialism is based on the most progressive science, it emanates from science and needs science for its further development--no matter whether natural, technical or social sciences are involved. Our society needs the most outstanding results achieved in these scientific disciplines, if they serve the needs of our economic and social development. Our society, however, can do without those individuals which would like to engage in science for the science's sake, to subordinate their activity to their personal fads regardless of the possibility of application of their results to the pressing or more remote needs of the society.

Our party therefore emphasizes the need of educating scientific workers, of their constant preparation for the tasks which they will face. In the first place, we are interested in the young scientific workers, in the new generation of scientists. Already at schools of higher learning it is necessary to seek talents for scientific work, to pay increased attention to their training and education, and to offer the opportunity to participate in the solution of research problems. Everybody can achieve a certain level of education, but not everybody after attaining this level can become an outstanding design engineer, manager, or scientific worker. If a young scientific worker is to become a top expert, he must possess not only talent and natural ability but also will and diligence. However, he must also be provided with purposeful education and care. For these reasons, the CSAV /Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences/, SAV /Slovak Academy of Sciences/ and Czech and Slovak commissions for awarding scientific degrees have been instructed to work out, in cooperation with the ministries of education and central agencies for scientific-technological and investment development, a long-term training program for scientific workers and to make the criteria for awarding scientific degrees more strict. These principles are already beginning to be applied. The designation of each new discipline for which scientific workers will be trained presumes the evaluation of its significance for present and future social practice. Equally demanding criteria must also be applied to the selection and training of aspiring scientists in the traditional disciplines. We must not allow there to be an abundance of candidates and doctors of sciences in one discipline while there is lack of them in other equally important disciplines.

In interlinking research with production, with the entire social practice, we are trying to determine the principal priority needs of society, to establish and intensify concrete links between the academic and ministerial centers and research carried out at the universities and colleges. It is precisely at these centers where there originate revolutionary changes in design and technologies which bring about innovations of a higher order and make possible significant quality improvements in the technology of industrial production, increases in the standards of machinery, equipment and other products. The usefulness of such cooperation can be demonstrated on many examples, such as the CSAV Institute of Instrument Technology and Tesla Brno, the CSAV Institute of Electrotechnology and Skoda Plzen, and others, where the partial results of basic research found, through applied research and development rapid, application in prototype equipment or new, progressive measurements and control of entire systems. Similar examples can be listed in the area of chemistry and biology. Significant therein is precisely the cooperation of workers in science and practice, where the point is not only the knowledge of problems, but also the mustering of common creative interest in their solution and of courage to find the most progressive ways.

During few recent years CSAV has signed contracts on cooperation with two dozen sectors and economic production units. These are by no means just formal agreements, because every contract has quite concrete features and lists a complex of tasks and problems requiring rapid solution. These are ways which comply with the requirements drawn up by the 16th CPCZ Congress that basic research must not neglect its principal mission--to search for new principles, and theoretical findings in the area of physics, electronics, power engineering, chemistry for further social development--and must contribute to the solution of problems in accelerating contemporary scientific-technological progress at the same time. It is precisely this close cooperation which provides stimuli for additional directions and prospects of scientific work.

At the 47th CSAV General Assembly last week the participants critically evaluated the results achieved by the academy centers in fulfilling the tasks ensuing from the 38th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and reviewed the tasks which they face after the 10th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. The meeting reached the unequivocal conclusion that the direction of basic research must make a maximum contribution to the development of the socialist society by achieving results that match world scientific standards.

Scientific-technological development is not a nonrecurrent activity. All basic principles in this area--increasing the standard of scientific work, training and education of scientific workers, close interlinking of science with social practice, rapid application of results in all areas of society's life, and promotion of wide cooperation with research in other socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union--must be permanently observed. These are long-term tasks which cannot be solved overnight and must therefore become a permanent and integral part of everyday work of party organizations at all workplaces. This involves not only discussions and solutions of specific technical problems in research and social practice, but also a permanent struggle for a change in people's thinking--for creating conditions to stimulate the creative courage of all those who are at the forefront of the implementation and promotion of scientific-technological progress.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U. S. ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE ASSAILED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 16 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Roman Drobny: "A Sharp Sword Behind the Shield"]

[Text] American General James A. Abrahamson knows how to handle it. He avoids the word "defense" in all cases and insofar he deals with armament in outer space, he does so exclusively to increase the "security of the United States of America." As he has recently declared, he is merely looking for the manner in which aggressive weapons could be rendered harmless. Is something wrong with that? We can assure General Abrahamson that there is something very much wrong with that. As the head of the research program of the "strategic defense of the United States" he should realize in the first place that the North American population is not threatened by anybody. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union has committed itself not to use nuclear weapons first. Why then is it necessary to throw away hundreds of billions of dollars in order to set up an antimissile system in the outer space for the defense of the United States?

A comparable commitment by Washington would be much less expensive and more beneficial to mankind. One which would clearly and precisely state that neither will be the United States of America threaten the fate of mankind by using weapons of mass destruction first. However, the White House is still not ready to do that. Instead, it tries to make the Americans believe that it is "absolutely necessary" to develop and construct a weapon which could shoot down ballistic missiles "already in the initial stages of their trajectory." Due to this "defense" it will allegedly not be necessary to be afraid of war. And Gen James A. Abrahamson presents the pursuit of the invulnerability of the United States as the core of his efforts. He thus tries to present himself as a "noble-minded" man.

Everything, however, is different. Although he used the word "defense" in every sentence, the facts remain the same. The antimissile defense in outer space is not designed to let the population of the United States sleep peacefully, because it follows completely different goals. It is to form a sort of cover under whose protection the Pentagon could plan first nuclear strikes--without being afraid of potential reprisal.

Irrefutable proof is the guideline of the U.S. President No 119 of 6 January 1984. This guideline makes it clear that the "effort to defend" is getting but another attempt by Washington to disrupt the military-strategic balance and to attain superiority.

Not even Gen James A. Abrahamson can deny that simultaneously with the development of "antimissile defense" in outer space the production of new strategic aggressive weapons is proceeding at full speed. A sharp sword is hidden behind the protective shield now in preparation. It is represented by the new intercontinental M-X ballistic missiles on Trident 2 submarines, strategic bombers, long-range missiles with a low trajectory which could be launched from ground, air, sea, ocean, and so on.

The fairy tales about the "antimissile defense" in outer space are designed only to cover up the preparations of the United States for "star wars." A press conference took place in Washington at the end of November which was organized by four past representatives of the U.S. Government: former adviser to the U.S. president for military-political questions McGeorge Bundy, former U.S. ambassador to the USSR George Kennan, former secretary of defense Robert McNamara and former head of the U.S. SALT delegation Gerard Smith. None of them subscribed to General Abrahamson's fables.

There is only one way out of the present situation: to stop the militarization of outer space before it is too late. This is precisely what the Soviet Union proposes. In the meantime the United States of America misuses scientific discoveries, which should benefit the mankind, to its detriment.

10501

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SHORTAGE OF GRADUATES REVEALED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 16 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Karel Kousal, Havirov: "There Is No Surplus of College Graduates"]

[Text] The prospects for college graduates have become the topic of surreptitious critical "discussions" in recent years. People "in the know" maintain that there is a surplus of them and that there are therefore not enough jobs corresponding to their background. And for this reason they allegedly "must" take jobs requiring other or inferior qualifications which represents a waste of the funds used to finance the studies of these "surplus" graduates, and so on.

The official statistics, however, reveal that the reality is different. There is a continuing shortage of college-trained experts in a number of sectors and enterprises because the graduates do not want the jobs offered to them. The most frequent reason is a sort of modern "patriotism." They do not want to leave their present environment, they want to stay at home in the place of their residence. They are tied tooth and nail to somebody's--their mother's or fiancée's--apron strings. And so they take a job in the place of their present residence even if the qualifications for the job are different from or inferior to those which they had acquired.

These are well-known facts. The discussions sometimes also suggest how to remedy the situation. For example, the former system of job assignment cards is mentioned. As of now no practical solution has yet been found, and society suffers. Our state makes it possible for talented young people to study at high schools and universities. It could and in my opinion should link this undeniable assistance to society's needs. After all, nobody studies just for himself, for his own pleasure, for dubious prestige or in order to get a job for which inferior qualifications are required. There are some sectors without problems; applicants who want to enroll at agricultural and forestry schools know that they must get a job corresponding to their qualifications, that is, in the countryside, in fields, and forests. They certainly appreciate the gradual elimination of the difference between town and country. The Educational Department of the North Moravia Kraj National Committee has successfully enacted

another measure. At the pedagogical school for the training of women-teachers for local schools it started courses for applicants from Karvina Okres because of the longstanding shortage of teachers in this okres. This pressing problem was successfully solved within 5 years...

It will be necessary to proceed along similar lines in the area of schools of higher learning. Good experiences from other sectors should be applied even if somebody gets hurt in the process. We have a regulated economy and regulations should therefore be applied to this "untilled field" as well. After all, we are not living on a desert island, but in a socialist society...

10501.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONTINUING INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Bonn Stresses Predictable Expectations

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 28 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Carl-Christian Kaiser datelined Bonn in December: "Continuity With Obstacles"]

[Text] The newly widened road for the German-German border crossing at Wartha-Herleshausen was put into operation literally in the middle of a foggy night, at 4 o'clock in the morning while the winter mist was rising in the Werra valley. It was the wish of the GDR to make little to-do about the occasion. The non-event was symbolic. Since Erich Honecker postponed his visit to the FRG for the time being, German-German relations have been placed on a back burner.

At the end of the year, the two German states find themselves once again in a state of waiting. It is a familiar experience. No matter how much Bonn and East Berlin are trying to detach their relationship from U.S.-Soviet tensions, the old platitudes remain in effect: in the end this relationship depends on large political weather patterns. It was never more evident than at the beginning of last September with the postponement of the Honecker visit, which was the most significant inner-German event of the year. Now Bonn as well as East Berlin are waiting and hoping that Washington and Moscow will resume their dialog.

As a matter of fact, since the postponement not much has been happening in inner-German relations. To be sure, in the middle of this month an agreement was signed on the mining of potash in North Hesse which extends across the border, but it remains the only formalized agreement of this year. Developments in travel from West to East and the other way around fared somewhat better, with the exception of visits from the GDR in urgent family matters. Travel between East and West increased substantially. There are no significant restrictions when it comes to passport and customs control. Furthermore, inner-German commissions for transit, transportation and border questions are operating normally. This development means a great deal for the people in both German states, although in the meantime they have become regular everyday matters and are looked upon as such.

On the other hand, negotiations on cultural agreements are proceeding more slowly and laboriously. Also, the talks on agreements on scientific and technical exchange and on mutual legal aid have been in a holding pattern for a long time. With respect to the cleanup of the Werra and Weser rivers and the removal of the unbearable pollution through Thuringen's potash salts, it looks almost as if negotiations will have to be started all over again. The GDR has also become more hesitant with respect to expert talks on the desulfurization of fumes, on the security of nuclear-technical installations and the pollution of the Elbe. Only forest experts met for an intensive exchange of experiences. Nevertheless, the first chapter of an inter-German environmental protection remains unwritten.

Of course, the stagnation cannot be blamed exclusively on the cancellation of the inner-German summit. There are many other difficulties, particularly financial ones. But nobody in Bonn disputes the fact that everything would probably be in better shape if the summit had taken place.

Until the cancellation, the prospect of the Honecker visit affected practically every aspect of inner-German events. Even the meeting between Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker in February at Yuri Andropov's funeral in Moscow was indirectly a preparation, although the visit was not planned until the end of September. Further steps for the relaxation were new bank credits for the GDR in the amount of DM 950 million, guaranteed by the Federal Government at the end of July, and the simultaneous easing of travel restrictions on the part of East Berlin, although it did not measure up to Bonn's expectations.

Connected with the preparations for the visit, at least indirectly, was also another important inner-German phenomenon of this year: the emigration wave from the GDR. The number of people who left the other German state legally by early summer--31,000 countrymen (40,000 until the end of the year)--was considerably higher than the usual measure. It must be mentioned that the GDR government tried, first of all, to get rid of a hard core of dissatisfied people to achieve more internal stability. But the spectacular emigration action was probably also intended to meet, at least in part, Bonn's urgent wish for more generosity and human relief.

Naturally the Federal Government welcomed the action. But it cannot hide the fact that it led to new problems. It is expressed in the frequently expressed opinion that the issue is not the "depopulation" of the other German state. The topic of more generous visiting rights has become more important than ever before and it must be treated with a cool head (but officially it is still ignored by East Berlin), if additional imponderables are not to complicate the reciprocal relationship.

The potential drama of an avalanche was demonstrated by the dramas that developed when West German embassies were occupied by East German refugees. But in spite of this awkward situation, Bonn and East Berlin were careful not to let these problems affect their mutual relations. In January, 18 GDR citizens who had occupied the U.S. Embassy and the Permanent Bonn Representation were permitted to emigrate immediately. And even a much larger group which refused to vacate the Prague Embassy of the FRG achieved its goal, although they had to return first to the GDR for a short period of time. The same was the case when a large number of GDR citizens occupied the Permanent Representation in June. They almost kept it from functioning and brought on a dangerous dispute over principles: Bonn was concerned about the freedom of movement for the countrymen, East Berlin was concerned about a challenge to its power of the state and that which the communists unmistakably call the question of power.

Since then there have been no more emigrations outside the regulated GDR procedure. The new drama in Prague provides proof every day. The Federal Government is doing everything possible to avoid an incalculable crisis situation. It is admonishing the Prague refugees constantly to abide by the official emigration procedure, and it is thereby underlining anew the importance which both states attach to the protection of their relationship with each other from uncontrollable developments.

In spite of the mutual interests in a normalization, however, the inner-German summit did not materialize. The major weather patterns were not conducive. In retrospect there is no doubt that Erich Honecker ventured out too far to suit Moscow. The SED chief exposed himself too much in a dramatic dispute which took place in the East bloc and which in an unprecedented manner was also conducted in public. The disagreement was over how the East should react to the counterarming by the West (Moscow proposed defensive measures, others--especially East Berlin and Budapest--advocated negotiations).

Another complication arose because of ongoing discussions in Bonn, and as the date of the visit was approaching, the situation became more and more irritating for East Berlin. Moscow, on the other hand, found it useful. In anticipation of the summit a violent discussion broke out in the Union in an attempt of finding a solution to the contradiction between fundamental legal positions and a pragmatic inner-German policy. The chancellor never expressed his opinion. Eventually Honecker got the impression that he would not be able to bring back any results from Bonn to show to the Soviets; in addition he had been subjected to open criticism from the Kremlin which had become more and more pronounced. And probably he would have been denied any recognition of being a German communist who is trying in his own way to find a modus vivendi. No matter how far Honecker may have ventured ahead in the eyes of the Soviets, this much is certain today: Bonn did not go far enough to meet him.

Nevertheless, nothing has changed with respect to inner-German interests. Inner-German politics is still an essential means for Erich Honecker to gain more approval among his own citizens, not to mention the economic advantages of cooperation with the FRG. The tensions between the United States and the USSR and the concern that a continuation of the tensions may adversely affect Europe, actually increased the motives for cooperation; at least, that is the way Bonn sees it. As early as New Year's Day 1984, Honecker spoke of the necessity to limit the damage following the missile counterarming, and in summer he said--also in connection with the Soviet countermeasures--that the newly started arms spiral contained "no advantages for any of the participating countries."

Bonn remembers statements like that. Of course, Union politicians are again in the process of creating new serious irritations by needlessly raising the question concerning the finality of the Oder-Neisse border, by glossing over the unfortunate motto "Silesia belongs to us"--to be used for Silesia Day--or by announcing that the conditions in the GDR should be discussed openly without hiding anything. There is hardly anybody in Bonn's government agencies who is happy about it. On the contrary. Ministers, high government officials and coalition deputies who advocate a sensible inner-German policy are not unaware of the fact that statements like that benefit neither the countrymen in the other German state nor the inner-German relationship.

The harmless formula, according to which greater clarity in the positions does not mean more complications for matters at hand, cannot ignore the fact: If the new discussion peters out, Bonn will soon have to answer for the fact that its own stupidity increased the waiting period imposed by the superpowers with respect to inner-German politics.

#### GDR Maneuvering Room Limited

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 28 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki datelined West Berlin in December: "Set-backs But No Change of Course"]

When the GDR leadership takes a critical look at its relationship with the FRG, it cannot be satisfied with the past year. Its attempt failed to use Moscow's insecurities, which had resulted from the change in leadership and the power vacuum, to enlarge its own political latitude. At the latest, the cancellation of Honecker's visit to the FRG demonstrated that, when in doubt, the GDR has to subordinate itself to Soviet interests and put aside its own wishes. Even the approval of almost 40,000 emigration requests by GDR citizens during the last 12 months did not produce the hoped-for results. The vent is still under pressure: The number of emigration requests has risen, and attempts to leave the GDR by the back door of embassies have increased in a spectacular manner.



In addition, the GDR did not get any closer to its long-range goal, the implementation of Honecker's Gera demands--respect for the GDR citizenship, upgrading of permanent representations to embassies, regulating the Elbe border, dissolution of the agency for GDR crimes in Salzgitter.

Such a balance sheet, however, must take into consideration that the GDR leadership tried to make the best of an extremely difficult situation. Following the start of the stationing of new U.S. missiles in West Europe, the onset of an ice age was feared in East-West relations, threatening to cast a chill over the inner-German relations as well. The USSR reacted with counter-counterarming and on its part installed additional missiles in the GDR and also told its allies in the Warsaw Pact to increase spending for arms. Honecker did not agree with it and he stated openly that these measures would "not be met with joy in our country." And Heinz Hoffmann, the minister of defense, pointed out that the "material and financial consequences" of the arms race would "not be easy" for the GDR. Honecker's only political goal of which he knows that the GDR population agrees with him, the continuing increase in the standard of living, is moving into the distant future.

It also became evident that economic prosperity cannot be imported from the USSR and also not from the other East bloc states. On the contrary: Moscow demanded higher prices and more GDR shipments, and in turn it cut back in crude oil exports. As a result, the GDR was practically forced to preserve a climate in its relationship with the FRG and the other Western countries that would not adversely affect trade. A chill should not be permitted under any circumstances because the credit rating of the GDR would suffer, since it owed already more than \$10 billion. As a consequence, the pouting phase following the stationing in the fall was limited to a brief seemly period.

In the process, the GDR leadership always tried to play on both sides--to integrate its relations with the FRG into its general efforts for West European states, at the same time, however, to label the Federal Government as the main party responsible for complicating the situation because it had given a "green light for the stationing of U.S. missiles." Furthermore, the SED assured "full approval" with the countermeasures announced by Moscow and indicated that "serious damage" had been done to the "European treaty system," above all, however, to the relations between the FRG and the GDR; peace was in jeopardy "as never before." Simultaneously, however, the GDR leadership did not join Moscow's silence but emphasized the importance of limiting the damage and continuing the dialog in spite of it. Honecker--as well as Helmut Kohl--talked about a responsibility community, later perhaps even a security partnership for the two German states: "It is better to negotiate ten times than to shoot once."

During numerous contacts with politicians from other European states--special efforts were directed at Austria, Scandinavia, France, Italy, Spain and Greece--the GDR leadership presented similar arguments.

It presents its foreign policy as the search for peaceful starting points which might avert a dangerous situation and provide steps for improving the atmosphere in Europe. As far as Erich Honecker is concerned, the planned meeting with Helmut Kohn was compatible with these initiatives.

It would be wrong to assume that talks about peace were only superficial and that they were in reality an attempt to promote economic relations with the West behind closed doors. Honecker was apparently serious when he spoke at the last meeting of the SED Central Committee in November, saying: "At the present time there are more missiles in Europe, but there is less security," and consequently he demanded a "worldwide coalition of reason and realism against the insane policy of accelerated nuclear arms production which is threatening the entire mankind."

There are two reasons why Honecker did not quite succeed. On one hand, he probably did not interpret the situation in the Kremlin correctly. Apparently, Andropov's death, Chernenko's illness and the recall of the unpopular overseer Abrassimov from East Berlin did not provide as much latitude for the GDR leadership as was assumed. Gromyko, the forever suspicious foreign minister and Abrassimov's lord and master, was fully aware of the situation. On the other hand, the SED wanted to influence the mood in the West for its own purpose but also for the USSR, using its many different contacts with Western politicians, opposition parties, labor unions and youth organizations. At the same time, however, the fear was growing in Moscow that all these contacts could destabilize the GDR and cause its leadership to make "concessions in questions of basic principles," according to a suspicious comment in the PRAVDA.

Honecker's subdued reaction to the stationing of Soviet missiles and his call for a coalition of reason may have been sufficient reason for the Kremlin leadership to put on the brakes. As a consequence, the Bonn visit of the chairman of the GDR Council of State--according to the information that is available--had to be cancelled due to pressure from Gromyko. In the meantime the GDR has completely reversed itself and is fully in support of Moscow's line. The GDR's foremost citizen was forced to accept defeat. But it is unlikely that his position has been weakened or even undermined. The GDR remains not only the most loyal but also the most stable ally of the USSR. And Honecker is adhering imperturbably to his line to continue the political dialog "now more than ever." The impending resumption of talks between the major powers will probably not brighten the inner-German climate, which has been damaged by accusations of revanchism by East Berlin and incomprehensible refugee slogans in the FRG. On the other hand, a statement by Dresden's SED Chief Hans Modrow to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, according to which the GDR was no longer giving top priority to inner-German relations because the FRG wanted to drive a wedge between the GDR and the USSR, sounds too much like a convenient tactic.

Because, on one hand, the GDR was paying a great deal of attention to West European states and with considerable success. On the other hand, the leadership of party and state probably listened to Cheysson, the former French foreign minister, when he visited East Berlin and said that Bonn and Paris were working "hand in hand." Disrupted relations between the GDR and the FRG and good relations with its allies do not fit together very well.

Above all, however, during the 12 years since the conclusion of the Basic Agreement between the two German states an intricate pattern of relations has been woven which is very strong and cannot be torn apart easily; not to mention the flourishing Inner-German trade. Here are a few examples: This month alone saw the opening of a new border crossing on the Berlin-Frankfurt autobahn, the signing of an agreement on potash mining near the border and the opening of a West German Design Exhibit in East Berlin. Negotiations are in progress on the mining of natural gas and brown coal in border areas, on the desulfurization of fumes and on safety measures for nuclear reactors. In the meantime the Transit Commission has met for the 82nd time, the Border Commission for the 71st time, the officials for traffic near the border met for the 34th time, and during these meetings there are always many discussions of practical questions and rulings result for most of them.

Although all these things take place in a somewhat unspectacular manner at the present time and the GDR leadership is avoiding official comments and employing a little bit of mimicry, there is no reason to assume that any damage could be done to inner-German relations. At any rate, the fact that East Berlin paid a great deal of attention in anticipation of the first visit of the minister of the chancellery, speaks against the thesis that the GDR is no longer particularly interested in good relations with Bonn.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OBJECTIVE STUDY OF WESTERN PEACE MOVEMENTS ADVOCATED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 32 No 12,  
Dec 84 pp 1092-1101

[Article by F. Klein: "Responsibilities of Historians in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] Our convention is taking place at a time when the need to take a position on the problems of war and peace is clearly evident every day. We are faced with a course of overarmament and confrontation by the United States and her allies which, with their deployment of first-strike weapons in Western Europe, has brought the danger of thermonuclear global war closer. Increasingly adventurous armament and war ideas are being developed by the U.S. administration which is not only threatening to attain its worldwide assumed objectives by the use of force, but already has crossed the threshold by using that force overtly and covertly, especially in Central America. While this escalation of the tendency to use force abroad, which is rooted in the basically expansive character of imperialism, the USSR and her allies, as they have done for decades, are pursuing a policy of peace whose goal is disarmament and the easing of tension. In these introductory remarks, I would like to refer briefly to the formally reaffirmed and in recent statements amended and still valid package of disarmament and tension-easing proposals contained in the Political Declaration of Member Nations of the Warsaw Treaty of January 1983,<sup>1</sup> and to the notable observation made by Erich Honecker in January 1984 after the deployment began, when he called the latter a serious deterioration of the international situation, stating that "now more than ever" all efforts must be made to avert the danger of nuclear war.<sup>2</sup>

Like all other branches of marxist-leninist social sciences, history faces the responsibility to participate, with the means available to it, in the struggle against the danger of war. In so doing, it must not only be a matter of examining some new topics, previously not covered at all or only inadequately, although that, of course, has to be done as well. The possibility, which never before has existed in history, that mankind could destroy itself, makes it necessary to develop new ideas for a new look at history. Historians have always looked at the past from the standpoint of the present, taking new present situations to ask history new questions of to ask old questions in a new way. And if it is correct what responsible

scientists in many countries are saying in widely read statements attention, namely, that nuclear war, unlike any previous war, will affect the very existence of mankind itself and its civilization; then our present situation is radically new and different, and that has radical ramifications for all areas of human thought and action.

"To change the way we look at things by looking at the present," to cite W. Liersch's words in a recent literary historical debate,<sup>3</sup> this is what historians, too, are expected to do. Thus, they must recognize and avoid the danger of a subjectivistic, moralizing and unhistorical approach. I am not suggesting that they paint the history of mankind in a pacifist light, where force and war have always played a progressive role and continue to do so--where socialism is also defended with arms and where battles are fought to liberate the oppressed from imperialist oppression and threats. Rather, what is important is that the history of Marxism-Leninism is being differentiated and enriched by the elaboration of new aspects that expand and deepen the historical ideas of Marxism-Leninism; the theoretical wealth of Marxism-Leninism must be fully utilized to study in history the problems of war and peace that are applicable today.

In speaking here of new tasks and the need to develop new insights, we must also emphasize the fact that the science of history in the GDR has by no means done all it could as far as the subject of war and peace is concerned. On the contrary, the examination, in particular, of imperialist war preparations and policies as well as the demonstration of socialist peace policies have always been favored subjects of our work. We have remarkable research findings and numerous publications with which we can start. Thus, it is a matter of continuing something we have pursued since our science of history began. A recent analysis has shown that all historical-scientific groups are paying particular attention to subjects concerning war and peace and that numerous interesting projects already have been firmly planned or are under discussion. In light of the questions above about the ramifications fundamentally new tasks of the present may have for examining history, I am offering for discussion the following views, which may be helpful in further intensive work on the problem of war and peace.

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The issue of the unity of socialism and peace was and continues to be for us the key aspect of the entire problem. It seems that even more precise and more complete, clearer and more persuasive work is needed on the peace policies and tension-easing policies of the socialist community of nations. Our correct basic belief in the unity of socialism and peace leads sometimes to too-readily accepted conclusions in explaining these relationships as if they require no careful and new proof. However, the fact is that agreement with, or at least acceptance of, the imperialist policies of confrontation by a great many people in the capitalist countries is the result of the untrue threats of the danger from the East, and it is one of the prime responsibilities of marxist historians to present the historical truth and to help overcome ignorance and prejudice.

A problem, which requires particularly careful and thorough investigation and historical evidence, comes up in connection with the marxist ideas of world revolution, of the international character of revolutionary processes in our time, which imperialist ideologists and politicians frequently cite as alleged proof of the aggressive character of socialism/communism. It must be established--also against leftwing sectarian adventurism, by the way--that this involves processes that are based on the internal contradictions of imperialism, and not on the export of the revolution from countries where socialism has been victorious. Again and again, it was the attempt to obstruct or squelch, "dam in" or "roll back" progressive movements and developments by exporting counterrevolution, in order to cite popular notions of the most recent part, which threatened peace between peoples and nations.

The basic idea of the socialist struggle for peace is the idea of peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures. A more precise and differentiating investigation of the historical process, in which this idea was developed and in which the struggle for its political realization was fought, is an important task. It is especially illuminating to look at its origins. It is well known that Lenin was the first person who, in pointing to the unequal development of capitalism, characterized the traditional thesis of marxism that the socialist revolution has to proceed simultaneously in several countries as outdated, and victory of the revolution in, at first, a single country as probable. He mentioned this idea for the first time in his August 1915 article entitled "On the Subject of the United States of Europe" and, with firm determination, reverted to this problem a year later, when he wrote about "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution."<sup>4</sup>

This new thesis led to a new question, namely, how--after the revolution had won victory in one country, that country's relations with other countries that continued to be capitalist would develop. Lenin's first idea was that the relationship would not be peaceful, and that in two respects: on the one hand, Lenin stressed the leading role of the proletariat in a victorious revolution against the capitalist countries and the support of the revolutionary movement in these countries "if necessary, even by force"<sup>5</sup> and, on the other hand, he predicted efforts of the bourgeoisie in other countries to destroy the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases, he continued, "war on our part would be legitimate and justified, it would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other peoples from the bourgeoisie."<sup>6</sup>

When later in October 1917, the possibility, discussed by Lenin, that the revolution might succeed in a single Russian state, became a reality, Lenin's revolutionary realism showed itself in its full magnitude. Peace as the foremost requirement for relations among states: that was the message the "Decree on Peace" addressed to all peoples of the world. It called, in particular, on all workers of "the progressive nations of mankind", of England, France and Germany, to aid the Russian revolution through their struggle against the bourgeoisie in their countries "to bring to a successful conclusion the issue of peace and, with it, matters relating to the liberation of the working class and exploited masses from slavery and exploitation."<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the Decree on Peace was, on the one hand, addressed to the peace-loving revolutionary workers of all countries that were engaged in a war. However, the decree also addressed the governments of imperialist countries calling on them to start peace negotiations. And it was in connection with the latter that Lenin said in the final words of his speech about peace at the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress of 26 October 1917, with reference to agreements with imperialist governments, "We are not bound by agreements. We are not taken in by agreements. We reject all points on stealing and rape, but we gladly accept all points that establish good neighborly relations and economic agreements--we cannot reject them."<sup>8</sup>

With this sentence--an offer to capitalist governments to establish peaceful relations and, at the same time, an admonition to those in his own camp who believed that they had to reject agreements with capitalist countries as a matter of principle, to view the situation realistically--Lenin affirmed the idea of the possibility of, and need for, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. On June 1920, G.V. Cicerin, Soviet people's commissioner for foreign affairs, then spoke for the first time on peaceful coexistence in a speech, which in a way evaluated the USSR's two-and-a-half years of complicated and varied experiences of surviving in a capitalist environment: "We don't want anybody to prevent us from developing the way we want to; we want to build our socialist social system in peace. We don't spread our system or our power by bayonets, and everybody knows that... We want peace, understanding,...which, under equal conditions, benefits both sides... Our motto is and remains the same: peaceful coexistence with other governments, whatever they may be. Reality has taught us and other states the need to establish lasting relationships between the worker-and-peasant government and capitalist governments."<sup>9</sup>

This short outline of first steps for analyzing the idea of peaceful coexistence also lends itself to increasing our awareness of the need to comprehend and present historical developments with their tensions and inconsistencies in line with their internal dialectics. Time and again, it is Lenin from whom we can learn in this respect. Let's look at his views about war which Nadezda Krupskaya had in mind when she wrote that Lenin knew how "to present any phenomenon, whatever it might have been, not as something frozen--he took each one on the basis of its own development, of conditions under which it had developed, in all its manifestations."<sup>10</sup> Lenin always condemned imperialist war in the strongest terms, emphasized that it had been caused by the ruling class of exploiters eager for profits and power, and called for uncompromising battle against it. Now, in connection with our topic, it is not uninteresting to point out that his views on war did not change, that his basic belief remained the same, but that he developed new views, based on historical experiences and changes, on the ways war manifests itself.

It was the experience of World War I with its--until then unknown and, despite the visionary warnings by some individuals, before 1914 unexpected--suffering, destruction and sacrifices that made a deep impression also on Lenin. Nadezda Krupskaya has written about it in such moving words that I would like to quote what she said: "One has to say that Vladimir Ilyich sometimes liked to look

into the distance and dream of the future. I remember a conversation about war. It was in early 1918 in Leningrad. Vladimir Ilyich said that war would be made more and more destructive by modern technologies. But the time would come when war would become such a destructive force that it would become absolutely impossible. Later, in 1920 and 1921, Vladimir Ilyich came back to that question. He told me of a conversation with an engineer who insisted that an invention was underway that would make it possible to annihilate huge armies from a large distance. That would make any war impossible. Ilyich spoke of it with great interest. One could see how passionately he wished that war would become obsolete. Ilyich saw the issue of war in its development."<sup>11</sup>

A more detailed examination of the aggressive and less aggressive forces in the camp of the imperialist ruling class seems imperative. This policy of peaceful coexistence, to whose attainment all efforts of the peaceful forces of our time must be devoted, can only be carried out if the forces of aggression in the imperialist countries are repelled and if social forces assert themselves which are willing and truly capable of maintaining peace, easing tension and coexisting with others. A look into history can provide experiences with these vital questions, whose consideration can be helpful in dealing with the problems of the present. Who exactly are these aggressive forces and who are the less aggressive ones? What are their motivations, and how interrelated are these totally different motivations, which are obviously involved? What is the relationship between external and internal factors, of conditions for class struggle in individual countries and within the international framework, of the effects of rival groups and parties of the ruling class among themselves and among different countries? What is the character of relationships in alliances, and to what extent have alliances a promoting or blocking effect on the more or less great readiness for peace and war? What is the relationship between big powers and economically or politically more or less dependent small states? Who are partners of the alliance who support the socialist coexistence policy, what is their unique contribution to the policy of peace, and what can be expected from this or that partner of the alliance? What types of conditions must we have to get the largest number of alliance partners to preserve the peace? Questions and more questions, to which many additional, similarly useful questions can easily be added and whose intensive analysis would make a helpful contribution by historians to the struggle for peace.

I would like to mention here an extremely stimulating paper by Karl Liebknecht that has not yet received adequate attention, i.e., the paper he wrote in the fall of 1915 for a new and expanded version of his work on militarism and anti-militarism.<sup>12</sup> There is much to be learned from it about the art of differentiation in approaching the historical development of militarism. The existing outline of a book, which unfortunately could not be written, shows Liebknecht's intention to conduct an extremely thorough and detailed examination of capitalist war interests and parties. To mention just one of the very many interesting points: The differentiation that Liebknecht urged to be made between war interests and war-goal interests. He wanted to write separately on "parties that are interested in war /per se/, for whom



the process of war itself is or--so they want--should be a source of advantages", about war interests in their proper sense, and about "people who are interested in war as a means to making war," about war-goal interests.<sup>13</sup> This differentiation is then, on both sides, often further subdivided in to political, economic, intellectual, domestic and foreign policy, social viewpoints, Liebknecht did not forget to draw attention to the relativity of this differentiation because at issue here are a variety of things, which must be studied separately, and yet as a whole, because they are so closely interrelated. The utility of such a general program for a carefully nuanced examination of the war policies of the ruling classes in capitalist countries is obvious.

An interesting area for historical research is the question of the difference between the usually existing, system-determined tendency of imperialism to use force and expansion, and the concrete attitude of imperialist governments towards war or no-war in specific situations. Lenin's often-cited imploring warning of December 1922 that the people must be told about what's really going on, how big the secrecy really is that leads to war, which was linked to a reference to the defenselessness of the labor organizations vis-a-vis a war that was actually in preparation,<sup>14</sup> was the outgrowth of the very real, painful experiences during the weeks and days before the war broke out in the summer of 1914. Year after year, the socialist parties in all countries as well as the Socialist International at its congress had analyzed and condemned the aggressive foreign policy and rearmament policy of the big imperialist powers and predicted all-out war unless the war-mongers could be stopped. With regard to these views and warnings, Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1915, "The events and driving forces that led to 4 August 1914 were no secret."<sup>15</sup>

The apparent contradiction of these two views disappears if one understands that Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin looked at these things in different ways. It is the difference between the general and the specific. Rosa Luxemburg was correct in reminding the social democrats that they knew the war was coming, that their assessment of the war-mongering forces was correct and that, therefore, the war preparations had not been a secret to them. Lenin's word was driving at something else. In his above-mentioned admonition, he wanted to underline the specific difficulties in the concrete situation when a war is developing."<sup>16</sup>

The contrast is obvious between the certainty with which, before 1914, the revolutionary labor movement had correctly recognized in general terms the increasingly dangerous trend towards war in view of the rivalry among the big powers, and with which they had predicted the war, and the uncertainty with which it judged the concrete situation of the imminent war. "At this point, there is certainly no talk of a serious danger of war," Julian Marchlewski wrote on 23 July 1914, i.e., the day the Austrian ultimatum was submitted.<sup>17</sup> And then five days later--the day Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia--, an article by Rosa Luxemburg was published in which she stated that she could "honestly" say no to the question of whether the German government was ready to make war: "One can safely assume that any other

prospect appears to the panic-stricken political leaders in Germany in a better light than that of taking on for Hapsburg's beard all the terrors and risks of a war with Russia and France or possibly even England."<sup>18</sup>

These statements are not being cited here because of some belated feeling of an I-told-you-so; that would be foolish. In addition, Rosa Luxemburg's comments are part of an article, in which she expressed some remarkable views on the situation of whose seriousness she was very much aware. We are standing "close to the abyss of a horrible European war," it said, "which may flare up in all of Europe tomorrow."<sup>19</sup> Equally incorrect was her assessment of the attitude of the German government which, at that point, was not only prepared, but also willing, to start a war that had been in the making for years. Stalin was thinking of this type of errors when he spoke of the secrecy of war preparations that must be revealed--something that is particularly difficult for those whose principles are in opposition to the ruling system, who have no direct access to the actual decision-making process and its supporters.

Careful historical studies of the behavior of imperialist governments in international crisis situations can also teach useful lessons for today's peace struggle. W. Gutsche started with it at our latest congress of historians with his discussion paper on the subject of the immediate war actions of the German imperialists in the summer of 1914.<sup>20</sup>

Generally, a good deal of work needs to be done on research into the history of the non-socialist forces for peace. There is a lack of more comprehensive, independent examination of bourgeois peace movements or scholarly biographies of their leading representatives. Again and again, we have examples of basically sectarian underestimation and misjudgment of such movements. What we need is a balanced assessment of bourgeois peace forces which depicts weaknesses and weaknesses and illusions as illusions (of course, weaknesses and illusions were not only symptomatic of bourgeois peace movements) which, however, does not stop here and dismiss them fast, but which takes achievements and efforts seriously and clearly makes them part of the struggle for human progress. Without blurring the differences of principles, the examination should establish the objective (and more often than formerly done, also subjective) common ground of bourgeois and socialist ideas for peace. In some instances, this may mean new evaluation. For instance, do the efforts of bourgeois pacifists before World War I to strengthen peace through international agreements and international law which, at the time, were overwhelmingly criticized by the revolutionary labor movement for good reasons, not deserve a more positive assessment from the point of view of the present? We are asking history today with new intensity for traditions that are worth preserving. At a time when we are forced to engage in such a determined and difficult battle for international agreements on disarmament and non-aggression and for stronger peaceful relations, we should find out which forward-looking questions and thoughts there were in previous decades in the work of international pacifism that would benefit international understanding.

In the most diverse ways, bourgeois authors have published a vast number of studies about "crisis management", about the causes of wars and about the many ways of preventing them. Much of it is unacceptable, but if they are serious studies, they should be the subject of our systematic attention and, if necessary, critical debate. Many ideas, especially in the area of realistic peace research, deserve positive consideration. Apart from the issue of the confrontation itself, two points should become subjects of systematic and comparative examination: international crises and peace agreements.

Viewpoints related to the topic of crisis have already been mentioned above: the issue of who were the particularly aggressive and the less aggressive forces within the group of ruling classes; antiwar policies of the revolutionary labor movements; the issue of immediate war actions of imperialist governments. For example, a study which prepares a systematic analysis of the development of international crises between the 1890's and 1913 from the point of view of which were the forces in each participating country, for what reasons, and with what fervor they were working for increasing or relaxing tension, could be useful and instructive for a better understanding of the decades-old process in which the international climate reached such a degree of high tension that it finally led to the catastrophic discharge of July 1914.

Peace agreements could be analyzed in a similar fashion, but by asking different questions. Here, we have problems such as the relationship between war goals and their reflection or non-reflection in peace treaties, but especially the relationship between peace agreements and subsequent wars. One could ask: which of the peace conditions could have been used to resolve international disputes in a way that would have ensured genuine, long-lasting peace, and which elements of those conditions led to new conflicts? For instance, one could think of studying the Franco-German relations which--beginning with the Congress of Vienna, the Peace Treaties of Frankfurt and Versailles up to arrangements at the end of World War II--would focus on the question of how these peace agreements influenced the development of mutual relations in the period that followed. Of course, such a study should not merely cover diplomatic relations at the government level. Of decisive importance would be the examination of the class systems, of the social conditions and the ramifications, respectively, which were influenced by the peace treaties and resulted from them. The close relationship between the struggle for peace and the struggle for progress would have to be at the center of such research.

I would also like to refer to the changes in the objective importance of peace agreements in the context of events that occurred in subsequent years. Thus, the Treaty of Versailles was, no doubt, an imperialist peace that was imposed on vanquished imperialist rivals in order to achieve imperialist objectives. However, as the Peace Treaty of Versailles became threatened by increasingly more aggressive revisionism and as the danger emanating from fascist Germany of a new devastating world war grew, the defense of the /status quo/ became the responsibility of all those interested in preserving the peace.

In connection with Versailles, mention must be made of the League of Nations and the lack of more thorough studies on its history. Far too often, the League is being analyzed, exclusively and narrowly, in its role as a power instrument of the imperialist victorious powers whose purpose it was to reinforce unfair imperialist power structures. True, the League of Nations was just that. But it was more. It also must be seen as the first attempt to set up an international organization whose stated goal it was to work for international peace and which evoked great, good hopes in that direction among the nations and which, finally, created a forum that offered the opportunity for genuine peace initiatives, regardless of the imperialist goals of the powers that dominated it. If that hadn't been the case, it would be hard to understand why the USSR, since the late 1920's, participated actively in the work of the League of Nations which, interestingly, began with sensational, far-reaching disarmament proposals.

Peace ideas and utopias over the centuries also warrant new attention. At all times, people have thought and written about how peace could be made the "natural way of life" for mankind. All these ideas, which must be carefully distinguished from the demagogical peace slogans of the ruling tyrannies who are in equal need of examination, should be investigated and evaluated. In this, the fact that this was often a matter of projects and programs which were doomed to failure because of the then-existing circumstances and because of the absence of social prerequisites for their realization, must not be hushed up. Also, the misconceptions often linked to the behavior of the ruling classes and their representatives, must be identified as such. In all of this it should be feasible to show these things in a positive tenor which takes the side of the ancient, yet forever new, longing of mankind for peace.

Some thought needs to be given to how, especially in general reports, the aspects of the relationship between everyday history and peace can be described more forcefully. Of course, we will hold on the principles of marxist ideas about just and unjust wars, and it must be underscored that for a more thorough examination of peace issues in history, research must be done which describes in more graphic and effective terms the need for, and progressiveness of, armed actions in defense of socialism and the peace-protecting role of the socialist armed forces. Nevertheless, it must also be stressed that in every war, on each side, it was the masses suffered most and made the largest sacrifices. This, in a sense, is why new and more intensive research that was started in recent years, which focuses on the history of everyday life of the people and the history of social systems and similar areas, offers new opportunities for analyzing the work for peace much more thoroughly than before and for stressing it as the truly humane--and progressive--part of the history of mankind.

In bourgeois literature, one sometimes comes across theories which claim that, because of the atomic bomb, the basic requirements for the development of the human society have undergone a complete change: According to them, we are no longer living in a communist, socialist, capitalist or feudal world, but in a nuclear world. Ideas like these clearly ignore the essence of international relations which, even after Hiroshima, are determined by

fundamental class differences. Marxists characterize the period in world history that started after 1917 as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and there is no reason to depart from this idea, which despite the complex and contradictory course of history was confirmed by historical practice. Especially in the struggle to preserve the peace, the contrast between the most aggressive forces of imperialism, which are responsible for the war danger, and the peace policies of socialism has proven time and again to be the basic reason for confrontation.

But that doesn't mean that the deep effect must be ignored which came into this world with the possibility and danger that mankind might destroy itself. "The harsh reality of our time is," N.N. Inosemzev, long-time director of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Scientific Council for the Research of Peace and Disarmament Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stated, "that the relationship of such important factors as war and politics has changed from the past. In view of the revolution that has occurred over several centuries in the instruments of war, in view of the large stockpiles of nuclear arms, plans to use military force to achieve victory mean suicide.<sup>21</sup> Equally serious were Erich Honecker's words who spoke of a new day and age when he wrote in his letter to Rene Peyre, president of the French Association of Resistance Fighters and War Victims, that the GDR has always been led by the fact that, in a nuclear age, there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, that military conflict means global annihilation."<sup>22</sup>

This is an adequate description of the essentially new conditions which--in view of the absolute priority to prevent a nuclear catastrophe--constitute the present framework for responsible behavior of all social forces in all countries in the world. Clearly, this situation also requires new efforts by historians, particularly those interested in the history of the recent past. Their contribution to the struggle for peace should primarily be in the form of projects which examine this struggle in its historical development since the end of World War II and which establish new dimensions of human life and progress in our time.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Neues Deutschland, 1 Jan 1983.
2. Erich Honecker's interview with the French weekly "Revolution", 6 Jan 1984.
3. Liersch, W., "Goetter, Helden und Viele" [Gods, Heroes and Viele]. Request to speak on "Nichts gegen Homer" [Nothing Against Homer]. Request to speak on Erich Koehler's article of the same. Sinn und Form, Vol 1, p 199, 1984.
4. See Lenin, W. I., WERKE [Works]. Vol 21, pp 345; Vol 23, p 74; Berlin, 1955.
5. Ibid, Vol 21, p 346.

6. Ibid, Vol 23, p 74.
7. Ibid, Vol 26, p 242.
8. Ibid, p 245.
9. Cicerin, G. V., "Stat'i i reci po voprosam meždunarodnoj politiki, Moscow, '61, p 114.
10. Krupskaya, N. K., "Das ist Lenin. Eine Sammlung ausgewaehlter Reden und Artikel" [This is Lenin. A Collection of Selected Speeches and Articles], Berlin, p 67.
11. Ibid, p 67.
12. See K. Liebknecht, "Militarismus und Antimilitarismus. Der antiimperialistische Kampf" [Militarism and Antimilitarism. The Anti-imperialist Struggle]. Gesammelte Reden und Schriften [Collected Speeches and Writings], Vol VIII, Berlin, 1966, p 334.
13. Ibid, p 343.
14. See Lenin, "Werke" [Works], Vol 4, Berlin, 1974, p 74.
15. Luxemburg, R., "Gesammelte Werke" [Collected Works], Vol 4, Berlin, 1974, p 74.
16. Lenin introduced his "Comments on the Responsibilities of our Delegates in The Hague" with the words, "With respect to the fight against the danger of war...I believe the greatest difficulty is to overcome the preconceived notion that this question is simple, clear and relatively easy." In his Comments, Lenin spoke of the secrecy of war preparations which is so difficult to uncover. (Lenin, "Werke" [Works], Vol 33, p 433.
17. In an article "Boerse and Politik" [Stock Exchange and Politics], "Sozialdemokratische Korrespondenz" [Social-democratic Correspondence], cited in Kuczynski, "The Outbreak of World War I and the German Social Democrats], Berlin, 1957, p 32.
18. Luxemburg, op. cit., Vol 3, Berlin, 1973, p 477.
19. Ibid, p 476.
20. See W. Gutsche, "Zur Herausbildung der unmittelbaren Kriegsdisposition des deutschen Imperialism im Sommer 1914" [Work on the Direct War Disposition of German Imperialism in the Summer of 1914], "Zur Militaergeschichte" [On Military History], Vol 2, 1984.

21. Inosemzev, N. N., "Der XXVI. Parteitag der KPdSU und die Aussenpolitik der Sowjetunion" [The 26th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR and Soviet Foreign Policy], in "Frieden und Abruestung" [Peace and Disarmament], Wissenschaftliche Forschungen [Scientific Research], 1982, Collected under the direction of N. N. Inosemzev, Moscow, 1982, p 32.
22. Neues Deutschland, 15 May 1984.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MEANING OF PHRASE 'RESPECT FOR NATIONALITY' ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German No 11, 17 Nov 84 pp 1121-1125

[Article by W. Seiffert]

[Text] The conclusion of the basic treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR<sup>1</sup> raises the question as to the legal quality of the now bilaterally regulated relations between the two states in Germany.<sup>2</sup> This problem is particularly relevant with regard to nationality.<sup>3</sup> To find an answer one must determine a legal status which is consistent with constitutional law, defensible under international law and, consequently, operable.<sup>4</sup> Since international law --regardless whether or not "residual constitutional law" still exists in the relations between the two states--<sup>5</sup> is primarily applicable to their relations,<sup>6</sup> the determination itself must be based on international law and on reification of the totality of the existing legal basis and the circumstances which control the relationship between the two states.<sup>7</sup> It follows from this that the Federal Republic has given the GDR de facto recognition (of a special kind) as a second state within Germany which calls for respecting the independence and autonomy of the GDR in its internal and external affairs in the manner defined by the basic treaty and taking into consideration that both states are constituent states of all of Germany to which the rights reserved to the Allies will continue to apply even after the basic treaty takes effect and after both German states have been accepted in the United Nations.<sup>8</sup> From the above it follows with respect to nationality that the (all-) German nationality remained unaffected by the de facto recognition of the GDR but also that respecting the independence and autonomy of the GDR on the part of the Federal Republic includes respect for its "citizenship" laws.<sup>9</sup>

This is, on the one hand, inherent in the concept of "respect" while, on the other hand, one must keep in mind that a formal individual act with regard to "respecting" the nationality of another state is just as unusual in international law as it is with regard to "recognition."<sup>10</sup> International law only knows "respecting" another state or "recognizing" another government or another state.<sup>11</sup>

If consequently there can be no doubt that universal "respect" for the independence and autonomy of the GDR also includes its citizenship and if it is equally certain that according to customary international law the concept and substance



of "respect" are not subject to disposition by one or another state (according to its momentary judgement), then--from the totality of the legal foundation and circumstances of inter-German relations--a series of clear definitions can be arrived at and it is only through their observance that "reasonable and flexible" consideration<sup>12</sup> of GDR's citizenship laws becomes possible.

#### Definitions

1. "Respect" is less than "recognition" in principle--otherwise the dispute whether "recognition" or "respect" is involved would be nothing but a quarrel about trifles. "Recognition" in international law requires above all de jure (and not only de facto) acceptance of the recognized state and its laws. Respect, on the other hand, implies de facto acceptance of the other state and consideration for the laws of the other state; the respective other state is under no obligation, however, to tolerate influences of the other state and its laws on its own internal and external affairs. In many cases and in practice this distinction may be very small or even insignificant. With regard to inner-German relations, however, the difference can have enormous consequences especially in the area of citizenship. For it is this "little difference" which allows all Germans--who are Germans in accordance with Article 116 of the basic law [constitution]--to remain German nationals even if they are citizens of the GDR according to its laws and enables the Federal Republic of Germany to continue legally to carry out its obligation to provide protection and care even for Germans from the GDR.

2. "Respecting" the "citizenship" of the GDR within these limits has the following implications for the Federal Republic, its organs and its courts:

a) Anyone who is a "citizen" of the GDR, according to the laws of that state, is subject to the sovereign power of the GDR within the territory of that state;

b) Aside from that, anyone who is a "citizen" of the GDR at the time can freely choose as an individual to claim exclusive GDR "citizenship" and to adhere to this decision even when in an area that is subject to the basic law or under the effective protection of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The legal consequences of such an individual decision by a GDR subject are that he is relieved of the (unrestricted) obligation to pay taxes, of having to comply with compulsory military service, and of his passive and active right to vote while within the area of jurisdiction of the basic law. The focus on this individual freedom of choice of a German national who is simultaneously a "citizen" of the GDR, undoubtedly constitutes a compromise, on the one hand, between the right of this German, as a German national within the jurisdiction of the basic law and within an area under the protection of the Federal Republic, to realize his appropriate legal status at the fullest and at any time and, on the other hand, the willingness of the state, the Federal Republic of Germany, to forego claiming him as its ward. But this is a reasonable and legally valid compromise because it guarantees those Germans

who are "citizens" of the GDR the optimum measure of freedom and human rights that are feasible under the given circumstances and considering the actual distribution of power within Germany. It was, therefore, practiced in the legislation of the Federal Republic as a special form of respect for GDR "citizenship" even before the basic treaty (see, e.g., the military conscription law, income tax law).

Focussing on such individual freedom of choice is also not subject to criticism because, on the one hand, the basic treaty for good reason does not mention personal sovereignty<sup>13</sup> and, on the other, any practice or law which would restrict the legal status of German nationals or endanger them personally, would be unconstitutional and contrary to international law. Thus the Federal Republic adheres consistently to the territorial principle and supplements it significantly by the individual principle. In this regard the basic treaty only prescribes what is already practiced as a basic principle in the Federal Republic.

3. Anyone who is a German national, in accordance with the nationality law which continues to be in force, remains a German national even if he claims exclusive GDR "citizenship." As mentioned above, the legal consequences of an individual's claim to exclusive GDR "citizenship" do not include the loss of his German nationality. It is his by virtue of the nationality law which is still in force and neither one of the two German states has the competence to change this, just as they lack competence to abolish German nationality, among other reasons, because this area falls under the reserved powers of the Allies.

4. Nor can showing respect for the citizenship laws of the GDR overlook the fact that the institution of GDR "citizenship" is vested in such a way (and statements from within the GDR suggest further development of this trend) that citizenship--as distinct from the view customary in Western states--does not only imply the assignment of a natural person to a specific state but is also equated with membership in a politically oriented association, community or order from which escape is no longer possible.<sup>14</sup> The Federal Republic cannot be expected to respect even those aspects of GDR "citizenship" which, as a result of such ideologically oriented citizenship, signify a restriction of human rights and freedoms in violation of international law. We cannot--to please the power elite of the GDR--help substitute legal chains for GDR subjects for walls of stone and then, by "respecting" even those aspects of GDR "citizenship," employ the official powers of the Federal Republic to maintain them even within the territory of the Federal Republic. It is enough in this context to point to the well-known fact that the vast majority of Germans who hold GDR citizenship regard it as a chain that they would rather cast off and the sooner the better.

When GDR District Attorneys Przybylski and Wieland, for instance, in their SPIEGEL interview demand the extradition (it would be more accurate to call it "handing over") of Weissgerber--a GDR citizen who is under indictment in the GDR, as a matter of fact for strictly criminal reasons without political connotation--and are even able to point out that he is not threatened by the

death penalty,<sup>15</sup> then even "respect" for his GDR "citizenship" cannot, in this case, result in surrender to a GDR court as long as there is no assurance that the defendant, after serving his potential sentence, would be allowed to take up residence anywhere he chose, even outside of the GDR; quite aside from the fact that extraditions, according to "international custom" to which the GDR likes to refer, take place only when regulated by treaty.

5. Furthermore, the practical consequences of this legal position are quite clear and simple for the Federal Republic which has applied them in its practices long ago. Instances of violations of the obligation to respect GDR citizenship, brought up time and again by the GDR, as matters stand constitute at most rare mistakes by subordinate administrative offices. But even when a mistake has been made, the related events prove that the German Federal Republic does respect GDR "citizenship": In none of the cases cited by the GDR was the initial request to the party involved (draft registration, induction into military service, tax returns and similar matters) pressed further, let alone enforced, after it was pointed out that the affected party was a GDR "citizen" and had requested to be treated as such; on the contrary, the relevant administrative actions were retracted in all these cases. A violation of the obligation to respect GDR citizenship did not, therefore, occur in even a single case.<sup>16</sup>

6. Moreover, there is no such thing as unilateral respect for, in this case, GDR "citizenship" on the part of the Federal Republic but only reciprocal respect for the citizenship laws of both states. What is right for one, is also appropriate for the other. Consequently, if the GDR starts from the assumption that "citizenship" laws are within the sovereign domain of each state and should be respected as legislated by all other states,<sup>17</sup> then this principle applies of course also to the citizenship laws of the Federal Republic; however, one has to add that this concept is only valid to the extent that the laws of a state conform to international law. There can be no doubt that this is the case with respect to the German nationality law, if only because the continued validity of the German nationality law after 1945 was approved by all the Allies and because none of the states with whom the Federal Republic has established diplomatic relations has ever at such a time expressed any reservations concerning this treatment of the nationality question. The law concerning German nationality, as it is, should therefore also be respected by the GDR, inclusive of the Federal Republic's legal right to incorporate the nationality law into the draft of the basic law and its applicability to all of Germany.

7. But it is just this obligation which is being violated by the GDR several thousand times a day, if only because its entry permit application for German nationals living in the Federal Republic per force and fraudulently changes this German nationality into an "FRG citizenship" even though the GDR knows that there is no such citizenship and that Germans who are permanent residents of the Federal Republic are in fact "German nationals."

Even more serious are denials of entry permits of former GDR subjects and the fact that Germans who have established permanent residency in the Federal

Republic with the permission of GDR authorities and have claimed all their rights as German nationals are not being released from their GDR citizenship and continue to be regarded as GDR citizens.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, if the GDR today retracts its former demand for "changes in the revanchist legislation of the FRG,"<sup>19, 20</sup> it is only a first step toward respecting the nationality laws of the Federal Republic. Still unresolved is also the GDR's obligation under international law to cease denying its subjects the human rights and freedom to which they are entitled under international law and which Germans in the Federal Republic have been enjoying since the foundation of their state.

### Summary

The reciprocal and specific respect for the citizenship laws of the two German states follows from the reciprocal respect for the independence and autonomy of the two states in Germany. Its conceptual and substantive definition is based on the totality of the legal foundation and the circumstances which determine the relationship of the two states to each other and the legality of these relations. Respect for nationality can, therefore, be neither the subject of unilateral statements nor of discussions, negotiations, or even treaties. In justified cases either side can only point out to the other that its administrative practices are in violation of this principle. Specifically rejected must be the inaccurate assertion of GDR authors that respect relates to two distinct "citizenships."<sup>21</sup> Aside from that, it can be considered a positive sign that the GDR is leaning toward the position that the Federal Republic need only show respect for GDR "citizenship" and that this requires neither negotiations of any kind nor contractual agreements, despite all the objections one may have to specific intentions which the GDR may have in connection with this concept. With regard to inter-German relations this may be a move in the direction of reason. Even though the GDR, for a variety of reasons, will not confirm this for us publicly, we can and should assume that the "Gera demand" for "recognition" of GDR "citizenship" is therefore no longer an issue.

However, GDR's realism with regard to the citizenship question should also be understood appropriately as "pars pro toto" [a part for the whole]. For it is only logical, politically consistent and legally binding that that which applies to one part of the relationship, would also apply to the entire relationship between the two German states: The political and legally mandated behavior of the two states toward one another is based on the reciprocal respect for their independence and autonomy. This could be a fruitful formula for a positive development of inner-German relations without burdening them further with insoluble status problems because, on the one hand, it does not demand anything that cannot be given and would also require a revision of the basic treaty and, on the other hand, because it makes the tacit assumption that German--German relations have a quality of their own and that there is no need to talk about it continuously.

# FOOTNOTES

1. On 21 Dec 72, BGBI [Federal Gazette], 1973, Vol. II, p. 423.
2. For a detailed discussion see: Brenno Zuendorf, "Die Ostvertraege" [The Eastern Treaties], Munich 1979; Wolfgang Seiffert, "Die Begriffe 'Anerkennung' und 'Respektierung' in den innerdeutschen Beziehungen" [The Concepts of 'Recognition' and 'Respect' in Inter-German Relations], in RECHT IN OST UND WEST, No. 2, 1984, pp 49-60.
3. W. Seiffert, "Deutsche und DDR Buerger" [Germans and GDR Subjects]: Regarding the Problems of Citizenship in the Relations Between the Two German States," in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No. 12, 1978, pp 1271-1280; also "Wechselseitige Respektierung der Staaatsangehoerigkeitsregelungen der Beiden Deutschen Staaten" [Reciprocal Respect for Citizenship Laws of the Two German States], in RECHT IN OST UND WEST, No. 5, 1981, pp 193-196.
4. In general see: W. Fiedler, "Das voelkerrechtliche Kontinuitaetsproblem und die besonderen Fragen der Rechtslage Deutschlands" [The Problem of Continuity in International Law and the Special Problems Relating to Germany's Legal Position] in B. Meissner and G. Ziegler, editors, "Staatliche Kontinuitaet" [The Continuity of States], Cologne 1983, p 18.
5. J. Frohwein, "Die Rechtslage Deutschlands und der Status Berlins" [Germany's Legal Position and the Status of Berlin], in Benda, Maihofer, Vogel, "Handbuch des Verfassungsrechts der Bunderrepublic Deutschland" [Handbook of Constitutional Law for the Federal Republic of Germany], Berlin, New York, 1983, pp 29-58, here p 40.
6. Frohwein, op. cit.
7. Seiffert, "Anerkennung und Respektierung," op. cit., p 52.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. In the meantime this is also granted in legal publications of the GDR. For instance, in G. Riege, "Die Staatsbuegerschaft der DDR" [Citizenship in the GDR], Berlin (East), 1982, pp 217-218; "At times it has been said....to formally recognize GDR citizenship...an independent formal recognition of a state's citizenship is not customary in international law and not necessary." Referring to the Chairman of GDR's State Council Honecker, Riege concludes that GDR "citizenship" need not be recognized but "respected." In an article which now probably reflects

the official position of the GDR, published in the SED organ NEUES Deutschland, 19 Sep 84, p 2, "The Nationality Question and a Sense for Political Realities," by Professor Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the "Constitutional and Legal Committee of the People's Chamber," it is reiterated that "a mere formal recognition of a state's citizenship by other states through specific diplomatic acts or contractual agreements....is unknown....in international law." What is involved instead, is the concept of "respect." Weichelt emphasized at the same time: "We do not make it a condition of bilateral or multilateral... relations that other states change their internal laws."

12. U. Scheuner, "Die deutsche einheitliche Staatsangehoerigkeit: ein fortdauerndes Problem der deutschen Teilung" [Uniform German Nationality: a Continuing Problem of the Division of Germany], in EUROPA ARCHIV, No 12, 1979, pp 345-356.
13. See Article 6 of the basic treaty.
14. Riege, op. cit., pp 89-90.
15. DER SPIEGEL No 36, 1984, pp 28-32.
16. Furthermore, with regard to consequences of respecting GDR citizenship, see the article by W. Seiffert, "Reciprocal Respect of the Citizenship Laws of the Two German States," Op. cit.
17. For instance, Weichelt op. cit.
18. Seiffert, "Reciprocal Respect...", op. cit.
19. According to Honecker in his speech on "The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and its Perspective," Berlin (East), 1977, p 10.
20. Weichelt, op. cit.
21. Riege, op. cit., pp 196-197.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED'S RAPID POLICY ADJUSTMENT ON SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALKS NOTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by sk: "Foreign Policy Activities of the GDR"]

[Text] The disarmament talks agreed upon between the Soviet Union and the United States have been the central foreign policy theme in the GDR since the meeting between Gromyko and Shultz in Geneva. The East Berlin leadership is visibly trying to make every detail of the Soviet standpoint its own. However, the comments of the SED party central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND could create the impression that East Berlin had not been comprehensively informed about the course adopted by Moscow with respect to the future disarmament talks at all times following the Geneva meeting.

This is indicated by the fact that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ran a balanced commentary immediately following the Geneva foreign minister meeting which contained no sharp attacks on the United States in its evaluation of these dialogues between Shultz and Gromyko. The joint Soviet-American communique was reportedly received with great attention and agreement in the GDR. Prevention of the armaments race in space, as well as the effective agreements with respect to limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments on earth were listed in the commentary as equal goals of the planned disarmament negotiations.

Rapid Accommodation

When Gromyko, then, in his television interview with Soviet journalists made it clear that Moscow was primarily interested in preventing the militarization of space and when he simultaneously warned the United States against continuing to station new American medium-range missiles in western Europe because this would call into question the planned disarmament discussions, East Berlin immediately switched to the line enunciated by the Soviet foreign minister. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published not only the Gromyko interview verbatim but expressed its full agreement with the position of the Soviet foreign minister in three successive detailed commentaries. The SED paper declared that in his television interview Gromyko had complexly stated the Soviet position with respect to the problem of limitation of armaments and disarmament--"and one can add that this is our position also."

In another commentary, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND took aim at U.S. space plans as they are stated from the Moscow position. The aggressive doctrine of the U.S. Air Force, which aims at achieving and maintaining superiority in space, can hardly be reconciled with the principle of equality and equal security. It is clearly in contradiction of the agreements reached in Geneva by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States.

With the demand by the SED paper to the Bonn government and to Federal Chancellor Kohl to "become aware of their peace obligations"--they should, for their part, request that the senior partner in Washington stop its "star wars" plans--the GDR is obviously also carrying out the mission assigned to it by Moscow, namely to try to sow dissent between the United States and its principal European allies wherever a chance presents itself.

#### Anniversary of World War II End Declared a Holiday

East Berlin's efforts to rapidly accommodate itself to Moscow positions in cases where the distribution and the change of forces in the Kremlin possibly also presents puzzles for the SED leadership also becomes clear in other ways. A few days ago, the state and party leadership of the GDR proclaimed the 40th anniversary of the end of the war to be a national holiday. An appropriate resolution stresses that 8 May 1985 would be observed by the people of the GDR together with the Soviet Union in honored memory of the heroes of the Soviet Union and its glorious army. The fact that the festivities in the GDR on 8 May hue closely to the example of Soviet victory celebrations is nothing new. In view of discussion in the Federal Republic regarding the organization of memorial celebrations, the GDR leadership is obviously intent, even here, on setting its own visible accents vis-a-vis Bonn. Since the Honecker visit East Berlin has been keeping its distance with respect to the Bonn government while maintaining contacts with the opposition. An example of this is the visit of the SPD deputy chairman and North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Rau in the GDR with subsequent conversations with Honecker, as well as the treatment accorded to Social Democratic Bundestag deputies Egon Bahr and Karsten Voigt some weeks prior to this time in their conversations with Politburo members. While the exchange of opinions between the SED and SPD members was noted on the front page by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND the paper reported the initial visit of the newly nominated Bonn minister of the chancellor's office, Minister Schaeuble in East Berlin, only on page 2. Also, the initiation of a new autobahn segment at the Wartha-Herleshausen border crossing took place without any formalities, at the request of East Berlin, and without the presence of a Bonn government representative.

#### Lively Diplomacy Visits

With the demonstrative expression of loyalty with respect to the Soviet ally--something which Honecker has never permitted to be even slightly doubted--and with the distinct distance with respect to the Bonn government, the GDR leadership has obviously secured its current "Westpolitik" well. The fact that this policy has not remained without success can be recognized by the fact that French Premier Fabius and British Foreign Secretary Howe are scheduled to make official visits to the GDR during the first half of 1985.



This will result in a breakthrough for East Berlin in that two high-ranking representatives of the closest allies of the Federal Republic, who are simultaneously protective powers in Berlin, have accepted an official invitation of the GDR Government for the first time. And, in the next few months, Honecker will visit Italy, a NATO member country, for the first time. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported recently that the visit with the Italian Government had been firmly agreed upon. Thus, the GDR Government might at least achieve a portion of that which was supposed to be attained by a planned Honecker visit to the Federal Republic.

5911

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MORE IDEOLOGICAL WORK NEEDED TO GUARD AGAINST CLASS ENEMY

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 39 No 22 (signed to press 8 Nov 84)  
pp 857-859

["Good Results in Consolidation of Socialist Law"]

[Text] The Annaberg district leadership of the SED presented a report to the secretariat of the central committee on "Political Leadership Experiences in the Continuing Consolidation of Socialist Law, Order, Discipline and Security in the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 10th Party Congress."

The central committee secretariat accepted the report and passed a position statement regarding it. It is emphasized therein that the Annaberg district party organization is successfully working for the general strengthening and reliable protection of the power of workers and farmers. In all areas, the fulfillment of the party congress resolutions is closely linked to consolidation of socialist law, order, discipline and security. The members of the section recognize in the universal legal protection guaranteed by our state a valuable accomplishment for socialism. The results attained in the 35th year of the GDR demonstrate once again that only the political power of the working class guarantees decent living conditions and the rights of the individual. Full support of the population is seen for the fact that no one is allowed to encroach upon the socialist state.

Social security as well as peace and safety have become a way of life for the inhabitants of the cities and communities. Public order, work and production security and fire safety have been strengthened because a growing number of members of society are actively and committedly working for them. At present, over 21,000 citizens of the section--almost 1 in 4 inhabitants--holds an honorary position in this area. One thousand fifty-two collectives are fulfilling concrete responsibilities for consolidation of order and security in the socialist competition and contest for the title of "Socialist Work Collective." Thirty-three companies, institutions, cities and communities are competing for the designation of "Region of Exemplary Order and Security."

The good results in consolidation of socialist law, order, discipline and security as well as in the defense against and prevention of violations of the law were obtained because there has been increasing success in making

these responsibilities an integral component of the leadership activities of the section management and its secretariat and in closely cooperating with all societal forces. It is beneficial that the section leadership is furnishing the party secretaries and other leadership cadres exemplary experiences of political work in this area.

The position statement of the secretariat of the central committee on the report of the Annaberg section leadership pointed to three main emphases in the further consolidation of socialist law, order, discipline and security.

#### The Power of Workers and Farmers Is Inviolable

1. As a priority duty, the inviolability of the power of workers and farmers must be guaranteed at all times with the greatest dedication. That is above all a requirement of the political-ideological work, of the combat position of all communists and the loyalty of every citizen toward his socialist fatherland. That includes the bounden of every citizen to contribute to the security and defense of our state. Communists always base this on the statutory duties of party members.

The continued rigorous fulfillment of our policy which is dedicated to the welfare of the people and to peace makes the reliable protection of the power of workers and farmers in all circumstances as a constitutional mandate even more necessary than ever. Achievements made during the 35-year development of our nation in the building of socialism oblige us to intensify our efforts for reliable defense of our socialistic accomplishments against all attacks.

In the political labor of the masses, influence will be brought to bear so that each citizen has a deep feeling of responsibility for the prosperity of our republic and shows his willingness to support the organs of the state to ensure national and public security. This political-ideological work which must be carried out with great persuasiveness helps to expose the dangerous attacks and machinations of our enemies. It leaves no room for any illusions about the goals of the class enemy.

The power of the basic organizations must be used everywhere to create this awareness: the more strictly law, order and security are protected in all regions and territories, the more pronounced political vigilance is, the more thoroughly the protection of secrets is guaranteed, then the more limited will be the opportunities for the enemy to carry out his subversive actions against the GDR.

The Annaberg section leadership considers the constant capability and activity of communists to work in an exemplary fashion in the struggle for law, order, discipline and security in their own working and living areas as an essential prerequisite for successful justice and security policy. It is therefore, strengthening its party education so that party discipline and respect for law are identical for all communists; every party member knows how law, order, decency and honesty are achieved in his sector, and

he is aware that it is his duty to be intolerant of any shortcomings in this area, to exercise political diligence and personally to protect party and state secrets. To that end, party work team conferences are used and also such proven methods as the monthly "Party Secretary's Day," forums for agitators, propaganda events, party apprenticeships, the district school of Marxism-Leninism and the specific use of experts in general meetings of party members.

As a result, a growing number of members of the leadership of the basic organizations are recognizing the unified achievement of the national and legal system as a permanent priority demand for political-ideological educational work. This expresses itself in the content of the competitions, in the plans for political work of the masses and also in concrete orders from the party. At the same time, direct party control over the perception of responsibility of the national leaders was strengthened since it is not yet continuously and compellingly enough structured in many of the basic organizations.

#### Order and Security in the Workplace

2. Increased efforts are necessary so that, in the new stage of the fulfillment of the economic strategy, the socialist law for the resolution of the growing problems of the national economy will become even more effective. Making the intensification process comprehensive and achieving greater efficiency through new technologies and new products place greater demands on organization, discipline and responsibility and also on the active implementation of socialist law.

The Annaberg district leadership is dedicated to great attentiveness. The people became more clearly aware that the national wealth that was produced by them and entrusted to them had to be preserved and that new techniques and technology also had to be protected with greater care and dedication. A determined preventive effort in this direction is accomplished especially through the economic exploitation of scientific and technical developments, the efficient structuring of investment activities, the fulfillment of the goals of socialistic economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries as well as through the improvement of export capability.

The understanding is growing that conscientious fulfillment and implementation of socialist law does not hinder the solution of demanding economic problems but, on the other hand, creates true production reserves. That is reflected for example in the 1867 proposals from workers for the 1985 planning discussion.

At the top of the list of enterprises which are accomplishing successful work in this region under the leadership of their BPO's [plant party organization] is the Neudorf VEB Spindle and Spinning Flyer Factory. A leadership example was created here on the recommendation of the secretariat of the district leadership. The basic party organization arranged for the national leader to feel total responsibility for socialist

law in the production process. Precise leadership documents which can be understood by the workers help in implementing a strict factory regime. All 32 production collectives are joined under the motto "To Fulfill the Plan With Safety" in the competition and contest for the designation of "Socialist Work Collective" for trouble-free production, performance and higher work discipline. For 204 months, the industrial collective has carried out the national plan without interruption. On 7 October 1984, it received the honorary designation of "Factory With Exemplary Order and Security."

The experiences garnered through the leadership example will now be generalized in all enterprises. The proven work with safety concepts will thus become principles for all leaders and work collectives.

The LPG of the Schlettau cooperative has also collected exemplary data while using competition for the legal education of its members, for a high level of protection for work and health as well as for fire and traffic and safety. Specifically, the party organizations there are influencing the selection and qualification of individual workers for highly productive production centers as well as effective protection against epidemics.

The struggle for exemplary order, safety and discipline in the work collectives is becoming increasingly a solid component of the socialist competition and contest for the honorary designation of "Socialist Work Collective." This must always be based on the integration of production, the increase of potential output and safety. Handling energy, resources and materials rationally, maintaining standards and allocations strictly, ensuring flawless production of appropriate quality as well as avoiding fires, accidents and disruptions are all encouraged. The strict enforcement and wise application of business law in the factories and combines contribute to the running of the national economic process according to plan, to greater continuity of production, and to the economical use of resources. For leaders and union officials, industrial law and innovative law are important means of stimulating initiative and drive in workers, especially in socialist rationalization of industry. Here, societal and personal interests are very closely linked.

One should not overlook the significant role played by law in the avoidance of losses and disruptions in the national economy, in environmental protection and in the security of our national wealth. Increasing production and growing basic funds in the district's industry and agriculture and a large number of construction sites in the continuing fulfillment of our housing construction program also call for additional protection.

The example set by leaders is very important. District leadership and basic organizations must assure that the leaders of all levels of enterprises observe the law in an exemplary fashion and are careful about its implementation, that they influence the workers instructionally and always consider their recommendations and comments.

The commissions trained by the leadership of the basic organizations in the Annaberg district for labor and production security ensure consistent party control and high political effectiveness.

#### Persuasive Legal Propaganda

3. As part of leadership activities, it is necessary to make sure that law and legality be more firmly applied in the development of socialist interpersonal relationships. All citizens should consciously and actively behave based as much on their feeling of duty to society and the nation as on their knowledge of their extensive rights. The more responsibly they perceive their legal duties to society and the more conscientiously their rights are protected, then the more honesty, responsibility, security and accomplishment are fostered.

City and community law govern important aspects of the coexistence of citizens. Local organs of the state devote even more attention to them. In order to encourage them to use their own efforts to establish order where it does not yet exist, more citizens will be mobilized in the "Help Beautify Our Cities and Communities!" citizen initiative along with committees from the National Front. Special attention will be given to the statements, interests and needs of the citizenry. When violations of city and community law occur, it is necessary to apply the force of public opinion and societal-instructional measures more firmly.

Propaganda and instructional activities in matters of law by national organizations and people's organizations are an integral part of ideological work. These activities are firmly based in the fact that the constitution of the GDR, socialist industrial, civil and family law are used to further shape socialist relationships both in the realm of work and leisure. Development of civic responsibility in the young deserves great consideration and strict observance of the regulations for protection of children and young people.

Through diverse and subtly differentiated legal instructional activities and through persuasive decisions of the local organs of the state such as the courts, such basic prerequisites for living together in society as mutual respect, trustworthiness, punctuality, discipline and an idea of order will be developed as solid habits. In addition, it is necessary to analyze behavior and phenomena which are alien to our socialist social order.

Permanent results in the prevention of violations of the law, disturbances and losses essentially depend on how the local people's representative groups and their councils work more closely with justice and security organs, with leaders of industry and institutions as well as with the numerous honorary forces such as the people's police helpers, members of the volunteer fire department, members of grievance and arbitration committees, FDJ order groups and control jobs, VS [classified documents] control groups, members of security work teams in industry, residential districts and other societal areas.

To guarantee law, order and security, the Annaberg district conference has a program which is summarized here. In it are to be considered specifications for the effective implementation of city and community order as well as the further conveying of task-related knowledge of the law to delegates and colleagues of the national apparatus. It is advisable to pass on the findings of this practical work of the standing committee for order and security of the district council in the consolidation of law in industry to the corresponding standing committee of the city councils and the representatives of the communities.

12666

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EAST-WEST RAPPROCHEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS THOUGHT POSSIBLE

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German No 50, 9 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by G.M.: "A 'Delicate Subject'?" ]

[Text] Understanding human rights is possible. Up until now discussing human rights has been ticklish. The working committee of the "Human Rights Program of Churches to Realize the Final Clause in the Helsinki Act" which has been in existence since 1979 has dutifully taken charge of this problem. Thirty-one participants from 17 signatory states of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe took part in a seminar lasting from November 21 to 29 in Eisenbach. The working committee met subsequent to the seminar. On several occasions, including a press conference on November 29, the purpose and results of both meetings were reported.

It was Dr Theo Tschuy, secretary of the ecclesiastical human rights program from Switzerland who characterized the work on human rights as "extremely delicate." Bearing in mind that these rights are only too often used as weapons in political and ideologic disputes, it is very hard to contradict this assessment. It is understandable that the existence of the meetings themselves are considered a success by activists of the program that is supported by the regional coalition of churches in Europe and North America. Where else can one rise above the differences and still come to an understanding on such questions? Moreover, it occurred, as we have been assured, in an atmosphere of openness and reciprocal trust, something that was scarcely imaginable five years ago.

One of the fundamental realizations which causes the work to be fruitful is the fact that, within the program, considerations are based on the differences and the equal status of the human rights traditions which clash in Europe. While the socialist tradition emphasizes the social rights and in a special way has emblazoned the equality of humans on its banner, the Western tradition has stressed the rights of the individual; "Freedom" being the password here. Members of the churches now consider it senseless to play one tradition against the other. Moreover, they advocate that both sides challenge each other through their strengths. Finally, it is also a matter of helping a person achieve the fullness of life.



Bearing the tension between differing positions and making it fruitful is first of all a church matter. However, it is hoped that such a relationship also has an effect on politics. The concluding statement of the Eisenbach meeting therefore states that the churches would have opportunities and experiences in relation to and beyond the dialogue on differences in policies and political systems. According to the document, they are thus in the singular position of being able to demonstrate how certain ways of dealing with others could actually be creative that otherwise would have been considered interferring.

The church's human rights program is closely tied to the political process of detente in Helsinki. Supporters of the program wish to accompany and promote this process. For this reason those in the Thuringian town of Eisenbach already have an overseas place in mind in Canada: Ottawa. In 1986, a meeting of experts on human rights will take place there. It is hoped that the churches will be urged to act in connection with their respective governments in Europe and North America to contribute to a fruitful result.

A key word for it is "Building Trust". Eckhard Krueger, the West German judge in Goettingen and member of the committee named five main elements to this trust: calculability, openness, reliability, exact information, and readiness to understand. Whoever adheres to these points will contribute not only to resolving conflicts in the church and in politics, but also in his or her personal life.

12348

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CELEBRATIONS HONORING SCHILLER ASSESSED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 23, 30 Nov 84 pp 14-15

[Text] The 225th commemoration of Friedrich von Schiller's birth (10 November 1984), "one of the most daring philosophers ahead of his time who was devoted to human dignity and peace" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND) was observed in the GDR with various festivities. Some of the high points of the Schiller commemorations are a gala event by the GDR Cultural Ministry in Weimar at which Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Cultural Minister, praised the "Work and Influence" of the poet; a three-day international scientific conference at the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena on the topic "Schiller in the Revolutionary World Path"; an international colloquium in Weimar ("Schiller on the Stages of Socialist Countries"); as well as the cornerstone ceremony for a Schiller museum in Weimar that should be completed in the second half of 1988. Furthermore, on the date of his birth, a "faithful production" of the Wallenstein trilogy had its premier at the German National Theater Weimar. In this production, the three parts of the trilogy were combined into one performance.

For many years now in East Germany Schiller has been considered one of the representatives of the "cultural heritage," to which the "totality of bonds, relationships, and results of the intellectual production of past historical epochs" ("Cultural Political Dictionary") belong and to which the SED feels itself committed. The first Schiller commemoration already took place in 1955 at the 150th anniversary of his death and in 1959 at the 200th anniversary of his birth. At that time, just as today, the state and party's leading officials responsible for culture referred to positive recognition of the poet by Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as by Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Klara Zetkin. Now the list of these chief witnesses of the Schiller veneration has been augmented by yet the names of GDR politicians who have since died, such as Wilhelm Pieck, first president of the GDR, and Otto Grotewohl, first prime minister of the GDR.

In the speech by Cultural Minister Hoffmann at the festivities in Weimar, he stated that all of these individuals had "created the bases for our Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Schiller. We stand by this tradition and wish to continue working and fighting in it." In this vein, Hoffmann also maintained that "no poet of the classical German heritage" had been so close to the proletariat as Schiller (by the way, for years now it has been the custom in the GDR to refer to Schiller and Goethe without the title of nobility because both had borne a bourgeois name and were bestowed --not the hereditary--but the so-called personal and honorary title).

Hoffmann described Schiller as one of the "most daring poets and thinkers of the German national culture," who has appealed to posterity to continue the search for a better tomorrow. His overall work is said to be stamped with uncompromising battle and flaming protest against feudalistic tyranny, despotism, love of intrigues, and shameless servility.

In his speech, Hoffmann valued the poet especially highly for the fact that he "had always been a companion of revolutionary democrats and of the progressive Russian culture." According to Hoffmann, ever since the Russian October Revolution, Schiller has "taken his firm place unchallenged to date," in the overall intellectual life of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the minister's words, it is not a coincidence that "in 1945, when the Red Army arrived in Weimar, it acknowledged the extraordinary homage to Goethe and Schiller."

Hoffmann summarized that the GDR could "present a good balance of the Schiller heritage" at the 225th anniversary of Schiller's birth. This was illustrated by Hoffmann's representative, Klaus Hoepcke in a contribution to "Media Information" which was published by the GDR Cabinet Council, entitled "Friedrich Schiller Is Ours". Hoepcke indicated that on a yearly average, 20 productions of Schiller's plays are staged in theaters in the GDR and are attended by about 100,000 interested patrons. Since 1980, 40 editions of Schiller's works, totaling 740,000 copies, are said to have been brought out in GDR publishing firms. It was also indicated that thirty-one schools in the GDR bear the name of Friedrich Schiller and this year the fourth volume of a planned ten volume Schiller edition was published in the East Berlin publishing firm "Aufbau-Verlag". Furthermore, a new edition of the correspondence between Schiller and Goethe will be published this year which should comprise three volumes. Hoepcke said, "And we perceive not least, how Schiller is 'among us' in the intellectual and political processes which we experience today and in which we participate."

Hoepcke listed a few of the Schiller memorials in the GDR which "differing in their historical cultural significance and methodical system, convey a manifold image of the poet, the conditions of his life, and his great artistic productivity as a whole." The oldest of these, the Schiller house in Leipzig-Gohlis is said to have been open to visitors since 1842.

According to Hoepcke, the most significant memorial to Schiller to date is the residence on the former esplanade in Weimar which receives about 150,000 visitors yearly. After it was severely damaged in 1945 by an air

attack, it was again reopened as early as 1946. Today it stands under the protection of the National Research and Memorial Centers of Classical German Literature in Weimar.

A new memorial will be added to these approximately twelve Schiller memorials in 1988--a Schiller museum to which Cultural Minister Hoffmann laid the cornerstone at the festivities in Weimar. The construction of the museum, which was the result of an architecture competition, is said to be connected to the poet's residence through an existing annex. Three thematic complexes are being planned for the three intended museum areas. In these the life, work, and time of Friedrich von Schiller, as well as his influence as a dramatist and the effect of his works are intended to be portrayed.

Walled into the cornerstone is a copper container that holds a parchment document on the laying of the cornerstone and a copy of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND dated November 10, 1984 in which an article about Schiller's work indicates that the poet portrayed and condemned the horror of war with disgust in his historical descriptions. In this way, the article continues, he assumes a place in the "list of progressive writers and poets whose call to preserving human existence can be a strong impetus in our fight against the nuclear inferno that threatens humanity."

12348

CSO: 2300/216

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DECREE INTRODUCES PENALTIES FOR ILLEGAL, PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German  
Part I No 36, 19 Dec 84 pp 433-437

["Decree on the Responsibilities of the Councils of Municipalities, City Districts and Cities Regarding the Construction and Modification of Buildings by the Population - Decree on Private Construction," signed on 8 Nov 84 by W. Stoph, chairman, Council of Ministers and W. Junker, minister, Ministry for Construction Industry]

[Text] For further extending the responsibilities of the councils of municipalities, city districts and cities regarding the most rational use of material and financial means in the construction and modification of buildings by the citizens and by others setting construction tasks, and for implementing the goals of the main task in its unified economic and social policies, the following is decreed:

Article 1 - Effective Range

(1) This decree applies to the construction and modification of buildings and other construction installations (all henceforth referred to as buildings) by citizens and others setting construction tasks not subject to the legal provisions on the preparation and implementation of investments.

(2) This decree also applies to the new construction, modernization and rehabilitation of the citizens' own homes, unless legal provisions provide otherwise.

(3) Correspondingly, the provisions of this decree apply to socialist cooperatives and cooperative facilities of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry and to state-owned enterprises constructing private homes the future owners of which are not yet known.

Article 2 - Duties of the Municipal, City District or City Council

The municipal, city district or city council (henceforth referred to as council) is under the obligation to manage the construction and modification of buildings in its territory in conformity with the economic and social policy goals and promote the citizens' initiative toward improving housing conditions, mainly

through the modernization, reconstruction and rehabilitation of extant buildings while using construction materials and financial means most economically and tapping local reserves. It must advise the citizens and bring its influence to bear on getting set for the construction. The council is under the obligation to supervise the construction and modification of the buildings.

### Article 3 - Concurrence on Constructing or Modifying Buildings

(1) If someone wants to construct or modify a building as to Article 2, he must seek the concurrence from the council in charge of the building site. Pulling down buildings is also regarded as a modification.

(2) The concurrence is required for

1. Buildings covering an area of more than 5 square meters or exceeding 3 meters in height or penetrating the ground for more than 1 meter,
2. setting up prefabricated buildings,
3. extensions to an extant building,
4. reconstructions in which supporting building parts are modified,
5. modifications in roof superstructures or facades (such as window and door openings) insofar as they are visible from public traffic areas,
6. fenced public traffic areas,
7. the pulling down of buildings covering an area of more than 25 square meters or such that exceed 3 meters in height, and
8. the pulling down of buildings requiring a special permission to be pulled down,\* except buildings in danger of collapse and ruins.

For the modernization and repair of private homes a permission is required whenever material and furnishings come out of the construction or balanced construction capacity funds, price differentials are adjusted according to legal provisions,\*\* or credits from credit institutions are resorted to.

(3) The council in charge of the building site makes the decision on concurring with the request.

(4) While concurring with it, the council also decides whether the design is suitable, which has to be coordinated with the competent urban or kreis architect. It also decides whether balanced construction capacities may be resorted to. Prior to giving its permission, the council is under the obligation to obtain the building permit from the state construction authority and, when the request pertains to pulling down buildings, the permit for that, wherever necessary. This does not affect other permissions and permits to be obtained, according to law regulations, by one who sets construction tasks.

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\*In effect at this time is the 8 November 1984 order on pulling down buildings and construction installations (GBL Part I No 36 p 438).

\*\*In effect at this time is the 31 August 1978 decree on the new construction, modernization and rehabilitation of private homes (GBL Part I No 40 p 425).

- (5) Bezirk and kreis councils may, in concurrence with social organizations, set down by resolution the permissible size of recreational buildings in certain construction areas, especially for recreational areas in the outskirts and small gardening installations. In setting up new installations for VKSK [Association of Allotment Gardeners, Settlers and Small-scale Animal Breeders], the VKSK resolutions have to be taken into account.
- (6) Recreational buildings are to be constructed, in principle, in the light construction method, principally from prefab parts.
- (7) In principle, no garages may be built on real estate serving allotment gardening and recreation.

#### Article 4 - Submitting Construction Documentation

- (1) The application for constructing and modifying buildings, but not for pulling them down, calls for the submission of the following documents, in duplicate:
1. The site plan (extended) showing the structures on it and the technical conduits on the piece of real estate and the adjoining ones,
  2. evidence for the ownership and use relations on that real estate (land register extract or usufruct contract or lease),
  3. a draft of the building, in projects for bids, project designation showing the local suitability,
  4. the neighbor's position in writing if the building is less than 3 meters off its real estate border,
  5. description of the construction measures with the following data:
    - the planned use of the building,
    - the intended access to the building site (water supply, sewage, energy, road access),
    - estimated total amount of construction costs,
    - planned schedule for the start and completion of the construction,and furthermore,
  6. for setting up a recreational building, that the requester does not yet have a recreational building,
  7. for building a garage, a statement that the requester has no garage as yet,
  8. for the new construction, modernization or rehabilitation of private homes, the documents, according to law regulations, on building private homes.\* That also applies to buildings permanently used for residential purposes in the allotment gardening installations of VKSK. For buildings in allotment gardening installations furthermore the position taken by VKSK has to be submitted along with it.
- (2) An application for the permission to pull down buildings has to be submitted at least one month prior to the beginning of the work. If it calls for a special permit, such an application must be made 4 months prior to the intended start made in pulling down the building. The application has to contain:
1. An outline which shows what building or building part is to be pulled down and its distance from other buildings, the real estate borders and the traffic areas,

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\*Ibid.

2. the number of dwelling units earmarked to be pulled down,
3. dwelling suitability level of the building earmarked to be pulled down,
4. permit for making special use of public traffic areas,
5. description of the object with the following data:  
 name and address of the assignee or owner of the building and of the enterprise assigned to tearing it down,  
 safety measures assigned,  
 measures for recycling building materials and the safe removal of materials to be discarded,  
 scheduled start and termination of the demolition.

(3) The council may waive a claim to some of the documents as to Paragraphs 1 and 2. It may also call for other documents if needed for examining the request.

#### Rulings on Applications for Constructing or Modifying Buildings

#### Article 5

(1) The permission to construct or modify buildings as to Article 3 is issued by the competent council in following the sample given in the Appendix.

(2) The council may issue stipulations that have to be observed in the construction and modification of buildings. The council may set down that the observance of certain stipulations and the completion of the construction must be reported.

(3) If in the position taken as to Article 4 Paragraph 1 Figure 4 objections are raised against the intended construction that could not be taken account of when the permission was granted, the council has to inform the neighbor about the reasons for it. This does not affect any civil law claims the neighbor may have against those setting the construction task.

(4) The permission expires unless the construction or modification was started within one year, except when the permission stipulated different deadlines.

(5) In exceptional cases the permission may be granted under the proviso that the building is to be removed after a given period by the owner or assignee without compensation and at their expense and, as necessary, the original condition of the building site is to be restored (permit for a stipulated period). Upon request, the council may extend the time frame, if there are prerequisites for it.

(6) The permit is granted irrespective of the entitlements of third parties.

(7) In justified exceptional cases the competent council, while granting the permit, may also permit deviations from the rules contained in Article 3 Paragraphs 6 and 7. Granting a permit in such exceptional cases calls for the previous authorization by the chairman of the kreis council.

(8) The permit is to be denied if

1. the construction or modification of a building contradict legal regulations or ordinances from central state organs, the resolutions from the bezirk and kreis assemblies, urban design principles, architectural design or the principles of memorial site preservation,



2. the real estate intended for the building was defined as construction reservation area by the bezirk or kreis assembly and granting a permit for a stipulated period would contradict the precepts, prohibitions or utilization conditions in the construction reservation area,
3. reasons of national defense, the securing of mineral raw material deposits, or planned mining measures, or the regard for natural or constructed memorials, preclude such construction, or protective regions were established by means of law regulations, and
4. the construction or modification of the building at the intended site would cause unreasonable economic expenditures.

#### Article 6

- (1) The council's decision about an application for permitting the construction or modification of buildings has to be given in writing and to be handed or sent to the applicant within one month, in case of a demolition according to Article 4 Paragraph 2 Sentence 2 within 3 months, after all the documents are received. If there are compelling reasons that the decision cannot be made within that prescribed time frame, the applicant must be given an intermediate notice explaining the reasons for the delay. A denial has to be explained and has to contain instructions on legal remedies.
- (2) In getting set for deciding on applications for construction or modification permits, the council may set up a volunteer construction activists group. Its members are to be appointed by the council chairman.

#### Article 7 - Building Permit

- (1) Each building as of Article 3 Paragraph 2 Figures 1 to 6 that is to be constructed or modified requires a building permit from the State Construction Authority.
- (2) The council must have the State Construction Authority check the construction documents and hand over or send the building permit of the State Construction Authority to the applicant together with the council's consent. Stipulations issued after the project was examined by the State Construction Authority rate as council stipulations as to Article 5 Paragraph 2.
- (3) Not until the State Construction Authority permit is granted may the competent council approve the construction or modification of a building.
- (4) The State Construction Authority may check the construction in process. Law provisions about the State Construction Authority govern such checks.

#### Article 8 - Dues for Permits Granted

- (1) Council approval is subject to dues, except for cases referred to in law regulations.\* Dues come to 0.75 percent of estimated construction costs. The

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\*The 31 August 1978 implementing regulation for the decree on private homes (GBL Part I No 40 p 428) is in effect at this time.

dues for the approval include the dues for the building permit from the State Construction Authority. Minimum dues are 10 marks. The council sets the dues.

(2) When the council's approval comes ex post facto, dues rise to 10 times as much as given in Paragraph 1. This does not apply to an ex post facto approval when exemption from dues is to be granted in accordance with other law regulations.\*

#### Article 9 - Revoking Approval

If obtained through false data in the documents, approval can be revoked, regardless of whether the construction or modification of the building was already started.

#### Article 10 - Setting Down Decision Authorizations

A council resolution is required for deciding which full-time council member is to make decisions on behalf of the council as to Articles 5, 6, 8 and 9.

#### Article 11 - Measures for Illegally Constructed Buildings

(1) The council chairman is entitled to issue a writ against someone setting construction or modification tasks illegally and to demand

1. that construction is stopped,
2. that he gets approval as to Article 3 within a given period, or
3. if the social interest requires it, bear the cost for removing the building or part of a building within an appropriate time frame and reconstitute the original condition.

(2) If he who has set such a construction task ignores the writ according to Paragraph 1 Figure 3, the council chairman may commission the work and demand to be reimbursed for what it costs from the owner or assignee (substitution action).

(3) No writ as to Paragraph 1 Figure 3 is admissible any longer, once the building has been finished for 5 years.

#### Article 12 - Disciplinary Fine Provisions

- (1) Someone who deliberately or negligently sets construction tasks
1. in constructing or modifying buildings without permission as to Article 3,
  2. while failing to meet the stipulations as to Article 5 Paragraphs 2 and 5 that were issued together with the approval for constructing or modifying a building, or
  3. fails to respond to the writ as to Article 11 Paragraph 1,
- can receive a reprimand or disciplinary fine between 10 and 500 marks.

(2) A disciplinary fine up to 1,000 marks may be set for deliberate irregularities as to Paragraph 1 if

1. the political order was significantly interfered with,
2. severe damage was caused or could have been caused, or
3. the irregularities were committed for seeking advantages or repeated within 2 years and then already received a disciplinary fine.

(3) The implementation of the disciplinary penalty procedure is up to the chairman of the competent council.

(4) The implementation of the disciplinary penalty procedure and the pronouncing of disciplinary penalty measures are governed by the 12 January 1968 law on fighting against irregularities - OWG (GBL Part I No 3 p 101).

#### Dock Money

#### Article 13

(1) The council chairman has the right, to enforce superimpositions as to Article 5 Paragraphs 2 and 5 and Article 11 Paragraph 1, to set down dock money up to 5,000 marks. Its amount is to be determined in terms of the importance of meeting the stipulations and the severity of the duty violation.

(2) A written threat is to be issued before the dock money is levied. That threat must contain:

1. a precise account of the action the implementation of which is meant to be enforced,
2. the time frame within which that action is supposed to be carried out, and
3. the amount of the dock money so threatened.

(3) The dock money is set after the termination of the time frame as to Paragraph 2 Figure 2. The setting of the dock money must contain instructions on legal remedies. Dock money can be levied repeatedly if the action demanded remains unfulfilled. A repeat must again be threatened.

(4) Costs for the substitution action as to Article 11 Paragraph 2 and the dock money are to be handled in accordance with the legal provisions on taking care of monetary demands by the state organs. The period of limitation is one year and begins whenever a given decision takes legal effect.

#### Article 14

Disciplinary penalty measures and dock money may not be applied simultaneously for one and the same duty violation.

#### Article 15 - Decisions

Decisions in terms of this decree have to be rendered in writing, contain instructions on legal remedies and be submitted or sent to the one who consigns the construction task, the owner or the assignee. If a decision is urgent, it may first be announced orally; within one week the council has to put it out in a written form.

#### Article 16 - Grievance Procedure

(1) The consignor of construction can complain about the council decision as to this decree. Such a complaint must be addressed, in writing or orally, including the reason for the complaint, to the council member who has made the decision, within 4 weeks after the decision was made.

(2) Within 2 weeks after receiving the complaint, its disposition must be decided on. If the complaint is not, or not fully, honored, the complaint is passed on to the council if the decision came from a council member or, if the decision came from the council chairman, to the chairman of the next higher council, for deciding on it within this time frame. The person who submitted the complaint must be informed of it. The council, or the chairman of the next higher council, has to render a definitive decision within another 4 weeks.

(3) If in exceptional cases a decision cannot be rendered within this time frame, an intermediate notice has to be issued in good time providing the reasons for it as well as the terminal date.

(4) No postponement derives from a complaint. The council member assigned to making the decision can temporarily hold the implementation of the measures pronounced in abeyance until the definitive decision is rendered.

(5) Decisions on complaints have to be made in writing, have to be explained, and have to be handed or sent to the complainant.

#### Article 17 - Transfer of Authorities to VKSK

(1) After a previous consent from the kreis council chairman, a council may set down by resolution that a chairman of a VKSK branch may be granted the authority to issue the approval as to Article 5 Paragraph 1 on constructing and modifying recreational facilities and subsidiary buildings (e.g. stables, green-houses) in allotment gardening installations and weekend housing of VKSK. The prerequisite for such a transfer of authority is that the VKSK branch has a volunteer construction activists group including qualified construction specialists and the members of the construction activists group were appointed by the council chairman as of Article 6 Paragraph 2.

(2) Within the scope of this decree and in conformity with the resolutions by the VKSK central executive board, the chairman of the VKSK branch has the right to decide on the size and construction method of recreational buildings in VKSK installations and settlements.

(3) The chairman of the VKSK branch has to arrange for the construction authority examination of the construction documents and may not issue his approval until the State Construction Authority has issued its building permit. The approval must show the chairman's signature.

(4) The VKSK branch chairman has to send a copy of the approval to the council which sets down the dues as to Article 8.

(5) The VKSK branch chairman has to supervise the construction and modification of the building so that it meets the terms of the approval. If violations against them are found, the branch chairman has to order, verbally, a halt of the construction at once and inform the council of it. Within one week, the council must either confirm or rescind, in writing, the decision made by the VKSK branch chairman.

(6) The council has to keep track of how the authority to give the approval is exercised and may also withdraw it again if the prerequisites for exercising these tasks no longer exist.

(7) The council decides on complaints against decisions by the VKSK branch chairman. The council is accountable for enforcing measures ensuring order and discipline as to Paragraphs 11, 12 and 13.

#### Article 18 - Implementing Regulations

The minister for construction industry issues implementing regulations for this decree.

#### Article 19 - Concluding Provisions

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 February 1985.

(2) Simultaneously rescinded are:

The 22 March 1972 decree on the responsibility of the councils of municipalities, city districts, cities and kreises regarding the construction and modification of buildings by the population (GBL Part II No 26 p 293), and Article 1 of the 31 August 1978 implementing regulation for the private home decree (GBL Part I No 40 p 428).

Appendix to Article 5 Paragraph 1 of the Decree

Prototype

Council

Approval No.  
on Constructing or Modifying a Building

The council hereby grants  
the consignor:

address:

the approval to construct  
or modify the building

at real estate

open field:

territorial ground key no.:

estimated building costs:

period in which construction is scheduled:

registry reference:

occupation:

place of work:

street number:

parcel no.:

The following stipulations come with the construction or modification of the building:

The meeting of the following stipulations  
construction are to be reported.

and the completion of the

Balanced construction capacities may (or may not) be resorted to in the enterprise.

This approval expires unless the construction or modification of the building is started within on year.

Dues for this approval come to marks.

They must be deposited within 14 days on account no.:  
at

Date

Council  
Signature

Distributor:

Applicant

Council

Kreis Council, Finance Department

State Construction Authority

Kreis Management of State Insurance

Kreis

Instruction on legal remedies:

Complaints are possible against the stipulations that accompany this approval and the amount of the dues, as to the 8 November 1984 Decree on the Responsibilities of the Councils of Municipalities, City Districts and Cities Regarding the Construction and Modification of Buildings by the Population--Decree on Private Construction--(GBL Part I No 36 p 433).

They have to be addressed within 4 weeks after the receipt of the approval to the council member who made the decision.

No postponement derives from a complaint. The council member assigned to making the decision can temporarily hold the implementation of the measures pronounced in abeyance until the definitive decision is rendered.

5885

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INFORMATION PROVIDED ON ARMED FORCES MUSEUMS

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 12, Dec 84 pp 690-692

[Article by Cpt (reserve) Hans-J. Kreker: "The Army Museums of the GDR;  
German Military History from a Socialist Point of View"]

[Text] The title of this article is used advisedly, since the designation "Army Museum of the German Democratic Republic" applies only to the museum in Dresden; the two other museums mentioned in this context are officially called the "Potsdam Army Museum" and the "Permanent Exhibition of 'Military Equipment and Social Order' at the Koenigstein Fortress." The following article will therefore concentrate primarily on the museum in Dresden which is the most important of the three. A book published in France in 1983 was used in preparing this article.

This museum was opened to the public on 24 March 1972. As is customary in totalitarian states, the exhibits are not neutral, but rather fulfill a specific function. The "East" would have us believe that "it is the most distinguished task of this museum, by displaying historical items, to bear witness to and underscore the centuries-old, bitter confrontation between advancement and reaction and the role of force, war and armed formations in the class struggles of the past and present, placing greatest emphasis on appreciation of the glorious class struggles of the German working class led by its revolutionary party as well as the most varied traditions of proletarian internationalism in a military context which live on in the unshakeable class and arms alliance of the National People's Army (NVA) with the glorious Soviet Army and with the other socialist armies united in the Warsaw Pact."

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist world perspective, the exhibits thus illustrate how deeply rooted is not only the NVA but also the entire state in the Warsaw Pact coalition; this is done by selective interpretation or distortion of historical events--by omitting important aspects of German military history if necessary--such that the visitor is shown a picture of events which have transpired exactly as socialist theory dictates. It is with this purpose in mind that the exhibits are selected, and in this light they should also be viewed. One more quote in this regard: "The exhibits of military history in the army museum of the German Democratic Republic release weapons and military equipment from their anonymity and illustrate how they relate to society. Not until the exhibits are presented together with concrete historical events can



they be considered material witnesses to history in the true sense of the word. Thus, the visitor to the army museum of the German Democratic Republic will find weapons and equipment displayed together with documents, photographs, uniforms and many other things to form contextual ensembles in which historical information and political expression complement one another."

The groups into which the exhibits are divided show that this principle is consistently followed:

- 1400-1917 The Great German Peasants' Revolt
  - The French Revolution, 1789
  - The War of Liberation, 1813
  - The Civil Democratic Revolutions, 1848/49
  - The Development of Marxist Military Theory by Marx and Engels
  - The Commune of Paris
  - The Struggle of the Revolutionary German Working Class Against Militarism and Imperialist War
- 1917-1945 The Great Socialist October Revolution
  - The November Revolution of 1918 and the Founding of the Communist Party of Germany
  - The Red Ruhr Army, 1920
  - The Red Front Fighters' Alliance
  - The Battle of German Interbrigadists in Spain, 1936-1939
  - The Great Fatherland War of the USSR
  - The Antifascist Resistance Struggle
  - The Victory of the Soviet Army over Fascism
- 1945 to Present
  - The Leading Role of the SED in Establishing Armed Organizations within the GDR
  - The Aid of the Soviet Union in Organizing the Protection of the GDR
  - The Growth of the NVA into a Modern Socialist Coalition Army
  - The Class and Arms Alliance of Armies United within the Warsaw Pact

This is not the place to question socialist interpretation of German history. From the socialist point of view, it is logical to interpret the German peasants' revolts as the first high point, as part of the early civil revolution in German history, and to misrepresent the tensions which resulted from the fall of centralized power of the German Empire and its attendant beliefs as a revolution of the peasants and "plebeian strata" in the cities. Although Thomas Muentzer is widely held up as the ideological leader, no mention is made of the fact that the peasants' revolts were not a product of intellect, and that even the beginnings of a political program did not then exist.

Reference is continually made to the close ties between the GDR and the Soviet people. It is thus inevitable that in those cases in which true German military historical events--and not socialist and revolutionary events--are depicted, the events of 1813 are of special importance. As a consequence, the main object on exhibit is not the regular army but rather the national guard, volunteer corps and units of volunteer riflemen as an "expression of active party participation among the masses."

Totally false, but in this context logical and effective, is the statement that the revolt of the Commune of Paris was quashed with the help of Prussian Germans (class alliance between German and French reactionary factions).

As just mentioned, the exhibits are largely adapted to reflect the socialist interpretation of history. To be fair, however, one must also mention several other exhibits such as guns which date back to the early days of artillery, swords, lance-type weapons, Wilhelm Bauer's famous "Brandtaucher," the world's oldest submersible boat, and a number of guns and vehicles used by the Wehrmacht.

The periods "1917-1945" and "1945 to Present" account for the greatest number of exhibits. With "the Great Socialist October Revolution," 1917 sees the beginning of "a new era in the history of mankind." In addition to events in Russia, where "German internationalists (really? which ones?) defended the Soviet power side by side with the Red Army," a great amount of attention is given to strikes, the November revolution in Kiel, the struggles in 1919/1920, and then of course the communist revolts in Saxony and Hamburg. The next highlight of the exhibition is the Spanish Civil War, in which international brigades saw action. Their "tradition" is upheld not only by the museum but also by the NVA.

The way in which the events of the Second World War--in particular those which occurred on the Eastern Front--and the post-war era are described certainly needs no further explanation when one reads, "Until the inception of the National People's Army, the protection of the first workers' and farmers' state in the history of the German nation against possible imperialist aggression lay in the hands of the Soviet Army whose members safeguarded the young German Democratic Republic like the apple of their eye."

The need to clearly illustrate the effect on German history of development within the USSR is not only reflected in words, but also in the exhibits. Accordingly, most of the weapons and vehicles on display are of Soviet origin. These include:

- BA-64B Armored reconnaissance vehicle
- GAZ-69 Truck with antitank rockets on an open platform
- BTR-40 Reconnaissance tank
- BRDM Reconnaissance tank
- ZIS-151 Truck with BM-13 multiple rocket launcher frame
- ZIS-157K Truck with radar antenna
- ZIL-157KV Tractor for rocket transport
- BTR-152VL Armored personnel carrier
- SU-76M Self-propelled mount
- PT-76 Armored reconnaissance vehicle
- PT-76 Chassis as a rocket launching base
- BTR-50PK Armored personnel carrier
- GSP Tracked, self-propelled ferry
- T-34 Battle tank (Model 1944)
- ZSU-57-2 Antiaircraft tank
- T-54 Battle tank
- JS-2m Heavy battle tank
- JS-2m Chassis as a rocket launching platform

Also on display are hand-held weapons, uniforms, a MiG-21 and articles which reflect the alliance of the NVA with the other Warsaw Pact nations. However the exhibits also include displays which show the "remilitarization of West Germany and its absorption into the West European military and power blocks."

This overview shows the significance of the museum as part of the effort of the GDR to interpret German history, and in particular German military history, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist tenets.

#### The Army Museum in Potsdam

Surrounded by the parking facilities of the New Garden in Potsdam is the marble palace which originally belonged to the Prussian kings and now houses the army museum, opened on 1 March 1961. Basically speaking, this museum fulfills the same function as the museum in Dresden. The museum has roughly 1000 m<sup>2</sup> of display area, and the placement of the exhibits follows the horseshoe shape of the building. In addition to socialist points of interest, the visitor also learns a great deal about the development of the Prussian army and the Weimar Republic. The history of the Wehrmacht intermingles with that of the Third Reich, whereby everything is presented in terms of the victory of the USSR and Marxism-Leninism.

Among other exhibits, an open-air display area is devoted to antiaircraft rockets, tanks, guns of old and new vintage, and items from the navy and air force.

Here, too, the alliance of the National People's Army with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact nations is emphasized.

#### The Permanent Exhibit at the Koenigstein Fortress

Up until well into the 19th century, the Koenigstein Fortress was the most important fortification in the Kingdom of Saxony, and was used as a garrison and a detention center for prisoners of war up until the middle of the 20th century due to its location and strength. Today its rooms form part of the Dresden Army Museum and house the permanent special "Military Equipment and Social Order" exhibition which was opened on 16 May 1965. An historical presentation using many original items gives the visitor an overview of the development of military technology from the catapult to the modern combat rocket.

Here it is also regrettable that although the items exhibited make an impressive visual display, explanations and descriptions follow the communist party line which says that the weapons of "reactionary regimes" are used exclusively to expand their sphere of military influence, and it is only socialism which prevents misuse of such weapons.

In conclusion, one exhibition deserves mention which is not part of the army museum group--the exhibition entitled "History of the German Nation from 1871-1900" in the Museum of German History, the former Zeughaus "Unter den Linden" in Berlin. While it is true that social problems were the primary focus of those years, there are also a number of items on display which are part of Prussian-German military history.

HUNGARY

PARTY DAILY EDITORIAL REVIEWS AIMS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas: "Predictable Foreign Policy"]

[Text] In Europe and beyond the borders of our continent tension prevails. At the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which took place this week in Berlin, several names of points of trouble were brought up: the continuation of the deployment of American Euromissiles in certain NATO countries, the development of new long range weapon systems, the unparalleled pace of production and stockpiling of nuclear and conventional weapons. Along with the efforts directed toward attaining military superiority which overstep the lines of commonsense comes the conception which draws into doubt the borders of European countries, their socio-political structures and the territorial and political realities which came about after World War II. In this situation it is even more important than usual how the various countries engage in politics in the international arena and what kind of considerations direct their activities.

Recently I had the opportunity to take part in a meeting during which a West European political personality informed the gathered reporters and foreign politicians about the main characteristics of the international activities engaged in by his country and government. He listed predictability as the most important among these characteristics, that is that anyone who maintains relations with them should know well beforehand precisely that attempts at splitting, or even tests to incite us to submit to a test, our attachment to our own principles, interests and alliance commitments are not in the least worthwhile.

In regard to ourselves, our foreign policy is predictable indeed. As a matter of fact the congressional guiding principles published once again a week ago made it distinctly understood: "The Hungarian People's Republic with its active involvement with and in harmony with the other socialist countries will strengthen the positive trends in international life and participate in the continuing struggle to avert the dangers threatening world peace."

Fortunately, at home it has not been fashionable to overestimate our own affairs for quite some time. It is now once again worthwhile to analyze

this sentence of the guiding principles more thoroughly. Those meetings of great importance which have recently been concluded--the meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Berlin, the meeting of the defense ministers in Budapest and the meeting of parties which participate in the work of the international theoretical journal *BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS* [Peace and Socialism] in Prague, gave a thorough evaluation of the current problems of world politics. Tuesday's meeting of the Central Committee also reviewed the foreign policy activities which had taken place since the last meeting.

It is not only the fact that as always we are cooperating with initiative and actively in the continuing work of the above-mentioned international events, that drives Hungary to harmonize its activities with the allied socialist states, but that we also undertake those tasks which devolve on us during the realization of the decisions accepted in these meetings. This fits with our goals perfectly, because the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact as well as the international policies of its member states serve the sharp politics of peaceful coexistence, the negotiated settlement of disputed issues, the diminishment of global political tensions and the forwarding of the universal concerns of peace, national independence and social progress.

Similar to other socialist brother countries, it is also in our interest to further strengthen our unity in the increasingly tense situation and simultaneously in harmony with the goals of our foreign policy--while not feeding the adventurism of the most extreme and most purblind of the capitalistic forces with illusions--we will also take the necessary defensive measures. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian People's Republic continuously and at a high level nourish our relations with our brother countries. The deepening of cooperation has also been served by last month's events, among them Janos Kadar's discussions with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Gustav Husak in Budapest, Gyorgy Lazar's talks in Moscow, and the party and government visit headed by Pal Losonczi to three Indo-Chinese countries: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Naturally our active foreign policy has not left out of consideration that there still exist elements of cooperation along with signs of confrontation--even in the tensest periods it has been possible to preserve the institutions and agreements created in the 1970s--and we are entitled to believe that there are opportunities for easing the political and military tension. One concrete manifestation of this--greeted as an event of great importance by the Central Committee--is that the Soviet and American foreign ministers will meet in Geneva again in the first part of January. It is indeed true that there are forces, which in one or another of the developed capitalist countries have introduced autocommunism into the realm of state politics. But along side extremists, realistically thinking capitalist politicians exist and have influence. We are and will be partners of these forces in the strengthening of the process of peace and the return to detente.

Matyas Szuros, Secretary of the Central Committee, was referring to this at the Peace and Socialism conference in Prague stressing that it has been proved once again that Western Europe, upon considering its geographic location and economic interests, is basically interested in the preservation of stable

international relations, in detente and in East-West cooperation. We have never made secret that we try to take advantage of the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other benefits offered by cooperation. But we have not lost sight of the fact that our policies are policies of principle; we cooperate with developed capitalist countries only in the spirit of the norms of peaceful coexistence, of equality, on the basis of mutual advantage and in accord with common interests. The recent visit of the first secretary of the central committee has also proved that this policy can be successful.

The development of our foreign relations and bi- or multilateral discussions strengthen the positive trends in international life. And if this is true of exchanges of opinions with bourgeois politicians, it is even more so in our relations with the countries of the Third World and among them especially those which have chosen the path of development directed towards socialism and a progressive society. We also support with our diplomatic activities that fight which democratic, progressive forces wage against dictators and racist regimes.

We construct our foreign policy not in isolation, closed to the world, but in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, our socialist alliance, and our friends, keeping in sight our common principles and the uniformity of our basic goals and interests. In this decisively important division of labor from the viewpoint of world peace every participant has his place and task in the development and realization of a syncretized foreign policy. But what makes cooperation especially important is that joint action is an essential precondition so that our countries may be successfully heard individually in the world.

We have often heard and also we ourselves have said more than once that we are a small country, our possibilities are limited. But if we carefully examine our international relations and diplomatic travels to and from our country these possibilities do not seem so tightly tailored. Our international position is proved by the visits at the highest political level and also that we well be the hosts of one of the important conferences representing a part of the Helsinki process, the cultural forum, the preparatory meeting of which just ended this week in Budapest.

The strengthening of peace is our national interest and this is the most important task of the socialist countries' coordinated foreign policy. Contributing to universal concerns such as peace and social progress we can create more favorable international conditions for the work of socialist construction. And this is what has been and remains the primary goal of our foreign policy activities.

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HUNGARY

FACTS, FIGURES ABOUT CATHOLIC CHURCH

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 8 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by Tamas Nyiri, philosophical history and anthropology professor at Pazmany Peter Roman Catholic Theological Academy in Budapest: "Being Christian in Hungary"--abbreviated from KUNST UND KIRCHE, Linz]

[Text] Hungary is an 1,100-year-old European country whose culture is deeply rooted in Christianity. Even an avowedly atheist state must take this past into account and cannot forever harbor resentment against the sins of commission and omission on the part of a church which is akin to a state church. If one knows anything about historicity, it is easy to recognize that a history of a thousand years with all its positive as well as negative aspects will not--indeed cannot--disappear without a trace from the life of a nation.

According to the 1949 census--which raised the question of religious affiliation for the last time--about 70 percent of the Hungarian people are Catholic. The general process of de-Christianization is proceeding in Hungary along the same lines as in many other European countries but nevertheless not to the extent one really could have expected. Sixty and one-half percent of all newborn babies in Hungary are still baptized as Catholics, which is about 90 percent of the Catholic population. Catholic burial rites are performed for 60.8 percent of the people; it is true that only 40 to 42 percent have Catholic weddings due to the very large number of divorces which in 1982 exceeded the number of marriages. Of course even the majority of Hungarian Catholics remember religion primarily during important turning points in their lives, on the occasion of birth, marriage and death. But in Hungary such a decision as a church wedding, for instance, is a very deliberate act, for no effort is being spared to replace these religious ceremonies with "social festivities." Nevertheless, among Catholics only about 5 percent of christenings, 40 percent of marriages and 2 percent of funerals are conducted as socialist ceremonies. On the other hand, in Budapest only 10 to 12 percent of baptized children have their first communion and only about 10 percent of Catholic children participate in some form of religious instructions. In Budapest, a city of 2 million, roughly 100,000 people attend Sunday mass regularly. Throughout the country about 12 to 14 percent attend church on Sunday. About 7 percent of the 14- to 20-year-olds attend services on Sunday and less than 2 percent of the young participate in religious instructions or church affairs.

## Percentage of Religious Citizens on the Rise

Prospects for the young to form their own philosophy of life are extremely poor. Schools, the mass media and other purveyors of culture for society as a whole, are busily trying to refute the religious view of life. But they are unable to define Marxist ideology in a way that fits the situation of the individual and makes it appealing to him. On the other hand, even those adults who were raised under the state church cannot sufficiently ensure real religious social attitudes in the family or only in the case of very few "religious" families. There is hardly any other explanation for the striking discrepancy between the percentage of adults who call themselves religious and the young people mentioned above. Nevertheless, about 46 percent of people over 20 call themselves religious and about 46.6 percent regard themselves as unreligious; whereas the percentage of those who call themselves religious among the young, better educated, gainfully employed and city-dwellers is only one-half that of the elderly, unemployed, those with less than 8 years of schooling and those living in villages. However, the trend is slowly beginning to change. In 1972 one third (34 percent) of Budapest's adult population regarded itself as religious. In 1978 a total of 44.3 percent specifically identified themselves as being religious; whereas a higher percentage distanced itself from ecclesiasticism, only 40.8 percent rejected religion unequivocally. It must be especially emphasized that among intellectuals there has been a significant increase in religious self-interpretation (it has risen from 20 to 25 percent during the past 10 years) while decreasing in other groups. Among those identifying themselves as being religious, the percentage of Catholics is rising while declining for Protestants and Jews. Moreover, among believers Protestants are more affected than Catholics by the rising trend of being on the fringe.

## New Priests Are a Problem

Although church and clergy are not the same, the number of priests active in spiritual guidance and that of seminarians is indicative of the state of a church. In 1970 there were 3,158 priests administering Latin rites in the ministry--in 1979 only 2,644. In 1979 the average age of active priests was 52.8 years; by 1983 more than 60 percent of all priests were over 60 years old. Currently the number of clergymen decreases annually by about 80. However, within a few years this decrease will proceed at a much faster rate because of the sudden loss of the numerically very strong age groups, the continuously rising rate of resignations and the rapid decline of new priests. If this trend continues along the lines of the last two decades, then the number of active Catholic priests administering Latin rites will be about 1,500 to 1,600 by 1990.

The greatest concern is over the constantly declining number of seminarians. Five years ago, there were about 300 students enrolled in the country's six seminaries, by 1982 there was a total of 190 seminarians and by 1983 only 130, including the 33 of the Greek Orthodox diocese of Hajdudorog. The situation is further aggravated by the ever increasing trend toward negative selection of seminarians.



A significant exception, also with regard to the latter problem, is the Greek Orthodox diocese of Hajdudorog, the only Uniate diocese among all of Hungary's 11 Catholic dioceses, where for years the number of new priests has greatly exceeded those who died. This diocese has roughly 7 to 8 times as many seminarians (about 35 for 300,000 believers) as the Latin dioceses (about 100 seminarians for 7 million believers). By 1990, the number of active Greek Orthodox priests will increase from the current 140 to 180 or 190. As a result, the 149 Greek Orthodox parishes will also be staffed in the future, whereas one-half or more of the 2,312 Latin parishes will be vacant. To complete the picture, one should also mention that the three authorized male orders (Benedictines, Piarists, Franciscans) have a sufficient supply (currently a total of 45 clergymen) of new personnel.

### The Role of Laymen

At various places attempts are being made to reactivate retired priests or former members of orders, but the time is drawing ever closer when the external structure of the Church will collapse; for the participation of laymen in the Church of Hungary is still in its initial stage at this time. And one can not place all the blame on official "safety rules." The old generation of priests--which still received its education at a time when the priesthood was associated with authority, financial well-being, prestige and power--has never learned to accept laymen, men or women, as equal partners in the Church. It is therefore psychologically understandable--but in no way excusable--that some of our priests have developed a certain anti-feminism, just at a time when women are virtually indispensable to the Church for carrying out its mandate to preach the Gospel. Good parish catechesis, lively activity in the parishes, true professional and Christian charity are only possible in those congregations in which women participate in all these activities. For how long women will accept such discrimination is another problem. The development of the modern nuclear or small family is already playing a significant role in the decline of those who feel called to become celibate priests, discriminating against women in the Church adds to the problem.

There may be a connection between the issue of women's rights and the fact that there is such a wide disparity between the ideas of the priesthood and the social realities in Hungary. The consequences are immediately apparent: Many adult Christians who can no longer accept the old authoritarian hierarchical order are leaving the Church and seek, in small groups, a new religiousness based on the Gospel.

### The Development of Religious Groups

Small religious groups have existed in Hungary since the end of WW II; in recent years, they have presumably increased in numbers and significance. Their growing number is cause for both hope and concern for the Church hierarchy. For several years now, the existence of such groups has not only been noted but also recognized and supported even by the hierarchy. However, those groups which have formed outside of the official religious structure and exhibit an unmistakable fundamentalism can neither fully assume the basic functions of religious life nor make a real contribution toward the mission of

the Church to preach the Gospel. The more the pluralism of social life also affects the Church, the more will religious life retreat to subgroups and small groups and become a religious subculture of unimaginable dimensions which leads to intensive experiences but has little effect on the outside.

The need for small religious groups is a long way from being understood. Far too long has the Hungarian clergy spent its time shedding tears for the past and has failed to recognize the true pastoral situation by fooling itself with the alleged "full" attendance at church services. The lack of sensibility for the true needs of their faithful among a large segment of the clergy has led to many aberration. Besides, the very intellectual laymen feel insulted by the arrogant dilettantism of their curates. The degree of offensive dilettantism is responsible for the development of supplementary theological education in small groups based on self-initiative.

The traditional arguments against religion appear to be obsolete in Hungarian society. Religion, merely by its continued existence, has proven that it is not just the product of a specific society. Is there a more convincing argument against the Marxist theory of religion than a Christian who, true to his conviction, is simultaneously trying to improve the lot of man, to ensure greater prosperity for the people and to promote more culture, equality and brotherhood among his fellow man?

Today broad sections of society are better off economically than at any time in Hungary's history. Nevertheless: We are "only" in seventh place in the self-destructive race of alcoholism; however, in the sterile art of suicide, we are first in the entire world. Today, 80 percent more people die of suicide than 20 years ago and only Ireland spends a little more of per capita income on alcohol than we do. In 1980 more men died in the prime of their lives than in 1960. Today we are back where we were in 1930: The population is decreasing. Never before did so many women bear so few children. About one third of all marriages end in divorce, another sixth are separated and this does not yet take into account marriages which have already failed, where divorce is being delayed, where partnerships merely exist and are characterized by relationships with others--the so-called "open marriages" which legally are still in force.

The hostility of broad sections of society toward children, the rapid growth of alcoholism, the rate of suicides particularly among the young, the frightening growth of adolescent criminality all point to a state of spiritual exhaustion. Man's alleged metaphysical independence appears to be a burden which many cannot bear. In all modesty and without being presumptuous, it needs to be pointed out that the number of suicides, divorces, abortions, etc, is in all probability lower among practicing Christians and the love of children higher than in other comparable sections of the population. Even though--or just because--many of them are of the opinion that faith is more than compliance with certain sexual rules. These people believe that priests should be permitted to marry if they so desire, even though they respect their celibate friends. It is their hope that married priests would be endowed with greater "worldly wisdom." They are opposed to abortions but have opted long ago for birth, not thereby to reduce the number of children to be born but rather to increase it. They believe in marriage and are against divorce. But they know

how much of a burden some marriages may become. Therefore, they believe that the way to communion should be opened to remarried Christians under certain conditions. They try to maintain the basic values of sexuality but will not allow "bureaucratic theologians" to set the standards. They are confident, exhibit and through their faith radiate a certain internal tranquility which one could almost call joy. They never, or hardly ever, speak about religion to their colleagues, be they believers or not, but a single gesture suffices to convey the creation of a climate for more harmony, more peace and concern for one's fellow men. This atmosphere, created by their non-verbal communication, is an unmistakable sign which will always identify them without having to utter a single word.

Many of them are the best of their generation in their profession. They are highly regarded by their colleagues even though many of them cannot understand their behavior. For that reason it may happen that their Marxist colleagues will defend them if their religious convictions get them into difficulties. Although they are under-represented in certain, mainly intellectual, professions and among the power elite, they consciously accept this handicap as a logical consequence of their behavior. Their main concern is for the education of their children: How to raise their children under the given circumstances "for life" and to be upright and religious even though religious education--whether in school or church--is satisfactory only in rare cases.

#### Participation of the Church in Solving Social Problems

The leadership of the state, concerned with practical politics, needs and expects the participation of the Church for the solution of the above-mentioned urgent social problems; it also expects Christian citizens in general to raise overall moral by making standards reliable and steadfast. However, many obstacles must be overcome before the dialogue can work toward the creation of true mutual confidence and before the Church and Christians will be granted a secure place in the country.

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HUNGARY

## PROLIFERATION OF PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS HAMPERED BY CONTROLS

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 10 Jan 85 pp 10-11

[Interview with Dr Peter Schmidt, Chairman of the Political Law Department at the Legal Faculty of the Lorand Eotvos University of Sciences: "The Right to Form Associations--but How?"]

[Text] Associations are the concern not only of obsessed dog breeders, karate lovers or naturalists. To found one for whatever purpose within the framework provided by the regulations is to make use of one of our most important civil rights. We talked about this with Dr Peter Schmidt, head of the national law faculty at the Political and Legal Sciences School of the Lorand Eotvos University of Sciences.

[Question] What historical period produced the association?

[Answer] Society has always appeared in an organized form, but this "organized form" has not necessarily been identical with the state. Feudal society did not make a distinction between a state and the private sphere; for example, the domain of the noble was from one side a self-governing unit of the nobility but from another side it was also the local organ of the state. The bourgeois revolutions proclaimed the idea of the so-called political state, the essence of which was that the power of the state does not extend to every social phenomenon. The citizens have a fundamental right to establish organizations defending their interests and expressing their common will. The state administration can limit their operation only if their activity clashes with the regulations. And this applied to all sorts of social organizations from parties through trade unions all the way to reading groups.

[Question] How were these legal principles realized?

[Answer] In principle it is very simple to recognize the right of association, but it is difficult to realize it consistently in the course of the exercise of political power. The French recognized the right of assembly in the 1791 constitution (at the time this included the right of association), but the first limiting provisions appeared within 2 years. Then in the 19th century,

in order to force back the worker organizations, they limited the right of association with new decrees. For example, holding workers' meetings was tied to prior authorization. Accordingly, even today the right of assembly is one of the most important civil rights at the "supreme level," at the level of legal principles and constitutions, but it is often successfully kept within unconstitutional limits by lower level regulations.

[Question] How did socialism take over the institution of the right of association?

[Answer] To sum up the foregoing briefly, according to the bourgeois conception the essence of civil rights is that every person has natural rights which the power is obliged to respect. This idea appeared meaningless with the creation of the first socialist country, for the people themselves became the state and it appeared superfluous to limit its power against itself. According to the conception of Lenin the state and non-state domains did not have to be separated; just the contrary, they had to be emerged. In addition the leaders of the revolution believed that the withering away of the state began the day after the proclamation of socialism. For this reason the first socialist constitutions--essentially all the way up to the 1950's--dealt with civil rights as a social fact. The legal guarantees were frequently missing; the constitution did not make clear which legal institutions supported civil (workers') rights or to which forum (for example, a court) one could turn in the event they were violated. In the development of socialism since then one can follow very well a process--in different ways and to differing degrees from country to country--whereby the autonomy, in regard to the state, of the social organizations of the citizens has been created and an attempt has been made to ensure the realization of civil rights with legal guarantees. For example--to jump ahead a bit in the conversation--here also the law defends the right of association in that citizens desiring to establish an association can initiate an action in court against any state administrative organ if it does not assent to the creation of the association.

[Question] By what path did our domestic legal development come to the present regulation of associations?

[Answer] Constitutional law XX, 1949, declares the right of association and conceives it a manifestation of this that the workers establish trade unions and democratic women's and youth mass organizations. Despite this only law decree 18, 1955, provided for associations as one way of exercising the right of association and separated the regulation of associations from that of the mass organizations. Law decree 18, 1955, deals with the conditions for establishing an association and with state supervision. It states--to list the key points--that at least 10 members are needed to establish an association, that it must have bylaws, that it must elect representative organs, that the bylaws must be defined; and that, with proof of all this, the association must be registered with the appropriate state administrative organ. The civil Code repeats these elements also. Then came law decree 35, 1970, and law decree 29, 1981, modifying it.

[Question] In your judgment do the non-operative regulations provide sufficient legal guarantees for the constitutional rights of citizens to form associations?

[Answer] In general yes, because in principle one must report the founding of an association to the appropriate state administrative organ only for the purpose of registration (thus, it does not have to authorize the founding of it) and in general the extent of state supervision over associations is appropriate also. State administration can supervise the activity of an association only in regard to legality, adherence to the bylaws created by the association and adherence to financial prescriptions, and not from other viewpoints such as purpose, utility or political orientation. At the same time the law decree has a few legal rules which, compared to the foregoing, give too much scope to the possibility of state administrative intervention. For example, Section 2 of the law decree states the following: "The beginning of organizational work aimed at creating an association must be reported in advance to the supervisory organization and the supervisory organization can link the organizational work to conditions. The supervisory organization should forbid the organizational work or call on the organizer to end it if the purpose or the association is contrary to the state, social and economic order of the Hungarian People's Republic." Well, this paragraph gives too much freedom to state administration, gives it rights which represent a political judgment, and organizes a study of legality. Properly, it should be the task of state administration to judge whether the association meets the regulations. A political organization must decide what is contrary to the order of our homeland and what is not; it is not the business of an official to decide this.

[Question] The official procrastination involving a number of our associations is well known. Not infrequently it takes years before the office gives in....

[Answer] The fact that this could happen indicates in itself that what is involved here is not simply a legal problem. Although the state administrative procedural regulations apply to the offices too, they simply do not answer the request. Not only do they not do so within the obligatory 30 days, they do not do it even within a year--this is an illegality. It must be seen that there is a sort of fear in our public life in regard to the associations which want to proliferate more and more. The official bureaucracy actually quivers and begins to be flustered if it finds itself faced with something new and unaccustomed. This "new" may be in perfect agreement with our social goals (look at the city protection associations), the fact that they are unknown is sufficient reason for the authorities to pick a quarrel and procrastinate. All this means that our public life, our political system and our public thinking have not assimilated the possibility of founding voluntary associations coming from below. The bureaucratic thinking wants to cram all social action into the existing organizational framework, into the people's front or the trade union or the KISZ and is afraid of associations outside these organizations. Surely it is time to think this through on a social scale and put it in its place politically. Naturally the goal cannot be the

creation of an anarchic system of social organizations broken into little pieces, but neither is the goal a bureaucratic treatment of voluntary social movements. But this is no longer simply a legal question, it is also a political question which cannot be approached only from the side of law.

Average Number of Members of Associations

<u>Character of Association</u>	<u>Number of Associations</u>	<u>Number of Members (thousands)</u>	<u>Average Number of Members</u>
Scientific	119	276.5	2,324
Artistic, cultural, city protection	90	41.5	461
Sport	3,013	720.1	239
Hunting	740	30.7	41
Fishing	694	239.2	345
Fire fighting	1,481	57.1	39
Insurance and self-help	12	329.1	27,425
Animal breeding and animal protection	295	27.6	94
Other	126	582.7	4,625
Total	6,570	2,304.5	351

Source: STATISZTIKAI SZEMLE

8984

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HUNGARY

REVIEW SEES MARXIST PREWAR JOURNAL RELEVANT TODAY

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Jan 85 p 8

[Review by Istvan Fenyoe of the prewar Marxist theoretical journal, SZOCIALIZMUS, published in Hungary between 1906-1938]

[Text] "The program of our journal is proclaimed by the title: SZOCIALIZMUS. The concept of socialism has a two-fold importance down to the present day: on the one hand it signifies a scientific direction and on the other hand a political party stance. The former means fighting social battles with the sharpest weapons against the entire present social system and the recruitment of a camp of supporters to this end by using all means of political propaganda."

SZOCIALIZMUS, the theoretical journal of the Social Democratic Party which appeared between 1906 and 1938 was an esteemed intellectual repository, an outstanding forum of Marxist political thinking. And yet, public opinion in our day hardly knows anything about it. In the period of the personal cult they passed over it in silence even as they did in the Horthy period, and also in recent decades it has been surrounded by an unjustified suspicion of revisionism. At last, the selections which recently appeared under the editorship of Janos Jemnitz and Istvan Schlett blew the dust from the living ideas of the one-time journal and enriched us with a series of theoretical and ideological writings which belong to the essential heritage of Hungarian Marxism.

As stated also in its introduction, the journal was born of an alliance between science and politics, the search for the laws of social development, and the desire to serve both theory and practice. It not only wanted to find scientific truth but also to realize it. It was the first in Hungary to analyze, interpret and evaluate the world on the basis of the self-consciousness of the working class, and imbued with the strength of the intellect it advanced class consciousness beyond the national boundaries in place of the formerly lone determinant of national horizons.

The first great period is linked to the name of Zsigmond Kunfi, who headed the journal from 1907 to 1918. What he published in one of his studies on the personality of Marx also characterized the undertaking which he edited: a rare passion for the truth, a hatred for all forms of servitude, the desire to change the world, and the coexistence of truth and everyday



human concerns. His analysis of Marxism and its method of thinking is one of the best summaries written on this subject in our country. Kunfi did not regard capitalism as an unalterable social formation; he understood its capacity for self-restoration, and together with this he regarded a society built on private property as one that could be radically transformed. In his journal he propagated the outlook of adjusting to changes in a concrete situation, the interconnection of economy, society and culture, that is, he thought about reality in its fullness. He was the first to proclaim a class outlook which seeks to weigh questions under study in the development of the entire national society and in fact of all mankind.

It is no small merit of the journal that besides emphasizing the basic worker-capitalist confrontation, it called attention to winning over and keeping the middle-level subclasses, and the importance of securing allies. And SZOCIALIZMUS was the first journal to proclaim that we cannot put on a shoemaker's last the course leading from capitalism to socialism and that in creating a new society adjustments must be made to the endowments of each individual country. He stated it as a fundamental principle that there are no ready-made formulas for realizing socialism, that we will get nowhere with models, and that lessons must be learned from all societies, even from the bourgeoisie, and every country must work out its own path to the future according to its own conditions. Zoltan Ronai's articles on this subject speak with the force of conviction even to contemporary readers.

The legend remained alive for a long time that Hungarian social democracy did not have an agrarian program. But the articles published here--primarily the 1906 study by Jozsef Diner-Denes or Illes Monus' 1973 article on the same subject--show that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party regarded it as one of the most important problems to come up with a program to eliminate private property in the peasant economy. As a prior condition for this, however, it advocated the liquidation of the large landowner system, land reform and thereafter the establishing of cooperatives--these ideas are organic antecedents of the present peasant federation as one of the basic conditions for the rise of the working class. The Social Democrats were among the first to speak out against the one child per family system (already in 1906!), pointing out the interrelationship of the large landowner system and population growth. It was also SZOCIALIZMUS that first analyzed the Gypsy question objectively, not as some kind of social extreme but as a part of the country's general social backwardness. It was the first to speak effectively of integration and the propagation of culture as the only solution to the problem.

The second great period of the journal came in the years following Hitler's rise to power in April 1934 when Illes Monus became the editor. The new leadership gave an example to the antifascist front policy which sought to unite every shade of social progress, and to a certain extent it had an effect on the orientation of the entire left wing. Monus' editorship arrayed in a new light against Nazi ideology the intellectual arsenal of the concepts of peace, democracy, freedom, rationalism, enlightenment, freethinking, and so forth. It added to his success that he managed to gain as permanent colleagues writers of such stature as Soma Braun, Istvan Ries, Arpad Szelpal,

and from among the non-Social Democrat left wing Lajos Hatvany, Lajos Kassak, and the young Ferenc Fejtoe. On the staff of SZOCIALIZMUS at this time were Attila Jozsef, Miklos Radnoti, Jozsef Darvas, Geza K. Havas, Pal Ignatus, Vilmos Lazar, Istvan Vas and Peter Veres.

This list of names in itself effectively counters the mistaken belief that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party did not have a purposeful intelligentsia policy. In contrast to various ungenerous concepts, the articles in the journal frequently emphasized that the Marxist concept makes a claim on the total culture of mankind, on "every vital idea." At the same time they recurrently emphasized the need for a reform of self-consciousness as the starting point for changing the world. The journal also performed great work in incontrovertibly showing the unity of socialism and humanism. (Especially valuable are the articles written by Ferenc Fejtoe on this subject.) They tried to fix in the collective consciousness that the standard for measuring the work performed for socialism had to be the ideal of the humanistic man to be realized. SZOCIALIZMUS divorced itself from the debilitating spirit of pacificism: it emphasized the struggle for humanism, the holding of one's ground, and alliance against the forces that would injure humanity. And it provided many practical examples of the latter: in its articles on the village explorers we can find not only criticisms but also many statements of recognition calling for cooperation. It expressed appropriate appreciation for the metamorphosis of Gyula Szekfu; and it also spoke with touching words of Babits' desire for peace that had become "revolutionary." Few journals of the time shed light so plastically on the essence of war and peace and the essential need for the intelligentsia to accept the related moral responsibility.

In this period the journal sought to solidify among many circles of its readers the recognition by humanism as first conceived by Pythagoras: Man is the measure of all things. It represented the honor and dignity of the human spirit in a period of time when capitalism divested man of his natural dignity. Its volumes tenaciously reasoned against fanaticism, dogmatism, voluntarism, impatience, and the use of arbitrary methods--to this day it has given a shining example that socialism must be indivisible from the spirit of freedom and from the freedom of the spirit. (Kossuth).

6691

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POLAND

## LEGAL QUESTIONS, OBLIGATIONS OF NEW TRADE UNION ELUCIDATED

### Positive, Negative Aspects of Regulations

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Walery Masewicz: "The Trade Union's Ability To Negotiate"]

[Text] Of what does the ability to conclude collective labor contracts consist? Whence does it come? What are its inherent consequences? The answers to these questions were recently provided in this publication by Dr Walery Masewicz.

Today, this same author writes about the strengths and weaknesses of several provisions of the new legal regulations covering collective labor contracts; these regulations have been worked out by the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs [MPPiSS].

The provisions worked out by the MPPiSS last October continue to be based on the concepts of trade contracts and the possibility of concluding contracts on behalf of the workers belonging to a specific profession. Item 9 of the provisions affirms, however, that contracts would be concluded primarily for all workplaces considered to be a part of a single trade. In accepting the fact of the division of the economy, enacted in 1971, into 14 sectors, 87 subbranches and 33 branches, one can envision that the basis of the contract system will be the 33 collective trade organizations. The end result of this provision is the awarding of negotiating powers to those trade union organizations that are spread out nationwide, i.e., nationwide trade unions and federations. Keeping in mind, however, that in several trades there are several or even several dozen trade unions (e.g., there are 11 trade unions in the food industry, 10 in commerce and the cooperative movement, and 5 in forestry and the wood industry), the MPPiSS envisions the possibility of appointing joint trade union representatives, excluding the permissibility of several contracts being concluded in a single trade. The concept of joint representation has been conceived in the following variants:

--a consultative commission appointed by the trade unions or federations operating in a given branch;

--a trade union or federation best "representing" with regard to the number of members;

--a trade union or federation authorized by the remaining trade unions or federations to negotiate and conclude an agreement.

The MPPiSS provisions envision the restoration of collective plant contracts as the labor law's separate collective institutions. They are supposed to be a means of implementing the provisions of a collective contract within the areas authorized by the contract and of generally settling problems in a way consistent with plant regulations. The right to conclude these contracts is granted to plant trade union organizations after they have won recognition by the worker councils or have gained a majority of the work force.

### The Need To Avoid Arbitrariness

The basic character of the right of professional unions to negotiate and conclude contracts demands that the trade unions themselves decide how to implement the contract in accordance with the principle of self-government. The danger exists that excessive interference in the standards of this law as established by the state with regard to the authority of individual elements of the trade union movement may restrict this freedom.

We must bear in mind that the state, even when it is not the collective employer, cannot ever relinquish its say with regard to the course and contents of these negotiations. On the other hand, however, one cannot agree without reservations to permitting the law's standards to decide arbitrarily which element of the trade union movement merits the right to negotiate on the principle of exclusiveness and which element does not. In the first place, it is not clear which of them can be designated "better" or "worse," less or more competent; they have to be regarded identically in the area of rights and obligations. Incidentally, experience teaches that schematic legal standards are poorly suited to those areas of life which are characterized differently because of their considerable changes. The trade union movement is undergoing reconstruction and necessary organizational transformation.

### An Expression of Significance

The ability of a trade union to conclude contracts is and should be a manifestation of its real significance, strength and authority in social relations. The legal ennoblement of any of its elements to the rank of a partner, empowered to conclude contracts, in itself does not improve its position very much in the current correlation of forces; it does not automatically grant the trade union the features of a strong, influential and "representative" trade union.

These and other prerequisites lead to the proposal that the law on the ability of a trade union to conclude a contract should be restricted to the general formula expressed in article 23 of the law dated 8 October 1982 that the right of trade unions to conclude collective contracts be granted, that it be

supplemented with a reference that the trade union agency authorized to conclude a contract be regarded as something sanctioned by law.

Such a reference by itself does not prejudice the level of negotiations and the scope of the collective contract; it does not have to mean a move away from a trade contract. As far as the workers are concerned, the contract can be negotiated and concluded by:

--influential and numerous plant trade union organizations operating in key industrial enterprises,

--the joint representation of several plant trade union organizations,

--trade union federations,

--mixed representation composed of the representatives of trade union organizations,

--mixed representation composed of the representatives of plant organizations and supraplant frameworks.

#### The Consequences of the New Responsibility

The social value of such a solution is obvious. The trade unions themselves would determine which of their elements are vitally concerned with the negotiations and should be able to influence the contents of the contract. Larger plant organizations, which cannot be overestimated, will not be entirely without influence in the negotiations. Of course, neither intertrade union disputes with regard to authority to permit representation nor the disadvantages resulting from the inevitable complications associated with negotiating procedures can be excluded. These are the certain social costs of the new responsibility inherent in Polish collective negotiations. These negotiations are becoming an extensive instrument for resolving the inconsistencies in the various interests, as opposed to an instrument which only plans and distributes that part of the national income designated for wages and workers' benefits.

#### Defense of Workers' Interests

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by K. Sz.: "Will the Trade Unions Defend Working People?"]

[Text] What are the effects of Trade Union Saturday on radio and TV? When will the Nationwide Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ] statute be passed? In what direction will the proposal for changes in the amended law on trade unions go? These are only a few of the questions asked on 18 December 1984 at the Polish People's Republic's Journalist Association on Foksal Street in Warsaw during a meeting with the representatives of the

OPZZ leadership; this meeting was organized by the Club of Social-Professional Journalists.

OPZZ Deputy Chairman Romuald Sosnowski defined recent radio and television broadcasts as the last "trade union marathon." They not only were an opportunity for the trade unions to present their positions on the most diverse issues, but also provided information, something expected of them by working people. The voices of goodwill and hope dominated decisively. There was much concern as to whether the trade unions would be able to defend society effectively against the price increases announced for 1985.

The OPZZ has already stated that its position on this issue will be worked out soon and presented to the public.

The decision was also made to appoint and set in motion during the first quarter of 1985 a research center which would study the cost of living and price policy and set the so-called minimum. There is also a trade union proposal in the works which concerns finding a solution, or at least relief, for the housing problem in Poland.

Stefan Koziaczy made the point that if the issue is the OPZZ statute, the draft has already been completely worked out. The draft will be presented to the OPZZ Executive Committee at the earliest session and then referred to trade union members for discussion. After corrections have been made, the OPZZ Council will declare itself behind the final proposal draft and have it referred to the court for registration. When will this all take place? Certainly no earlier than July 1985.

The third and final issue to come up was the amendment to the law of October 1982. The trade unions desire to include in it provisions permitting a return to the powers they possessed before the imposition of martial law. A particular point dealt with not only the right to express opinions, but also the right to make decisions on selected issues. These issues include: supervision over the State Labor Inspectorate and the Worker's Vacation Fund, as well as the attainment by the trade unions of legislative power in the Sejm.

12247

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POLAND

# INCREASED ROLE OF MARXISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCES FAVORED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 11, Nov 84 pp 138-146

[Article by Leszek Ogieglo and Andrzej Skrzypek: "Problems Concerning the Development of Marxism and the Social Sciences"]

[Text] Leszek Ogieglo

1. The discussion initiated by Comrade H. Bednarski's article on the problems concerning the development of Marxism and the social sciences has produced many valuable observations and sound opinions and proposals.<sup>1</sup> It is a discussion that is inspiring and encourages participation. I believe that the contents of the discussion are also having a positive influence on prosocialist scholars who are not Marxist and that these contents will be debated in the institutions, university departments, and plants. Above all, representatives of the social sciences having the greatest ideological influence, that is, philosophy, sociology, history, law, political economies, and social psychology should become interested in participating in this discussion in various forms.<sup>2</sup>

2. In not striving toward Marxism and not developing the Marxist-Leninist trend for the social sciences, we run the risk that the building of socialism in Poland will remain at the politically declared "high-minded utopian" stage, and our economic and political practices will totter along from one intuitive trial to another real error. Mindful of the bad experiences of the recent past, we know that the realization of the party's obligatory program and of the need to submit a party program for the future to Polish society very soon cannot succeed without the active participation of science. To approach the social sciences in a rational and effective way, we must answer, among other things, two questions: 1) What specifically do we expect of the social sciences today and in the foreseeable future, and in what way and in what areas can these sciences meet our expectations?; 2) What hides behind the shield of Poland's social sciences, of what utilitarian and cognitive value are they, and what are their political values in 1984 and the very near future?

A side question: Who must answer these questions? It seems to me that the answer to the first question should be formulated by an agency external to the social sciences community, that is, by the party and government. In the final answer to this question, the essence of its contents must be discussed with the social sciences community, the catalog of problems and basic directions of research must be determined, and the rules of the game that obligate the authorities and the scholars should be established clearly and fairly.<sup>3</sup>

Decisions made in this area are political decisions, and in making these decisions the scholars should not replace the politicians. The social sciences community should provide the answer to the second question within the framework of self-evaluation. Party organizations and echelons and party members representing the social sciences community are responsible for the genuineness of this answer. I believe that the ongoing discussion on the problems of developing Marxism in the social sciences fulfills several important tasks from the viewpoint of the second question, namely: a) it is a kind of balance sheet of the status of the social sciences<sup>4</sup>, b) it provides the data for self-evaluating cadres and organizational and material-technical potential from the viewpoint of current and future needs; c) it is an attempt to determine and select those research problems that require the most examination because of their effects on the country's political and economic situation. The self-evaluation should include research areas that have not been touched by science and research directions and that have been delayed or poorly developed. Also, those scientific disciplines within the social sciences framework in which Marxism is especially endangered should be designated.

It is projected that this stage of the ongoing discussion will be well summarized by the Nationwide Party Conference on the Social Sciences.

3. In the many discussions and variously formulated opinions on the social sciences, the problem of the "weaknesses" of these sciences is often mentioned. To achieve a fruitful discussion, it seems that attention should be devoted to this matter, especially since the discussion is being followed not only by professionals but also by the mass of "uninitiated" readers, among whom one finds people who are important opinion-makers.

In the first place, these weaknesses should be differentiated according to whether the source of the weaknesses is within the social sciences or whether the weaknesses were or are being transmitted to the social sciences by agents external to the social sciences community. Those people who know of only one prescription for healing the social sciences, that is, to exorcise the social sciences community to "weaken" the countenance, should be aware of this second group of weaknesses.



The status of the social sciences is differentiated in many respects. The political situation in the social sciences is differentiated; there are scientific centers and research disciplines in which the political situation is very bad. The scientific level in various centers and scientific disciplines is differentiated; there are places on the Polish social sciences map where the level is alarmingly low, but there also are places where research results are at a world level (if one is permitted to use this kind of euphemism). Finally, it should be said that the status of Marxism in the individual social sciences is generally differentiated, and this differentiation increases when the situation in the special scientific-research units are taken into account.

Limiting myself to the three indicated levels of differentiation of the status of the social sciences, it should be stated clearly that the party, representing the working class, must interest itself in bringing the social sciences back to health as soon as possible at all three levels. But the problem is how to do this in the framework of current conditions and limitations. Looking from the other side, it is probably obvious that there is agreement that if this status were to continue by virtue of inertia, then there also is agreement that the party's theoretical subsidiaries would be seriously weakened in the distant future. Knowing that it takes more than 10 years (together with studies) to train a fully qualified researcher, that one professor can train a very limited number of students, and that not all professors are willing to take the trouble to provide a Marxist education to young scientific cadres, we must not delay making the necessary decisions and we must not waste time. The passage of time is a factor that, under current conditions, does not benefit the status of Marxism in the social sciences. The inconsequential and short-sighted policies practiced in Poland for many years produced such fruit that today we must ponder how to strengthen and expand the Marxist-Leninist trend in the social sciences. By postponing decisions and delaying the preparation of a multilateral program to expand Marxism and the social sciences, we can be sure that we will continue to gather the increasingly bitter fruit of the already outwardly forgotten, old "scientific policies." It is well known by all that the number of Marxist-Leninist scientific laboratories did not increase and is not increasing today at a rate that would decisively extend the influence of Marxist-Leninism in the social sciences. What is more, many good scientific laboratories have been eliminated over the past few years.

4. Observing that which is happening today and not yesterday in the social sciences and in relation to the social sciences must cause concern. The concern here is not only about the disclosed political divisions in this community, which, incidentally, some attempt to pass over in silence or belittle in the name of the myth of an existence of a "universal academic community," but also mainly about the degree of involvement of scholars in the process of transforming our reality. Many scholars holding party cards more or less shy away from participating in the country's social and political life, and in science they take on so-called safe themes. Individuals whose scientific authority is established

exhibit an attitude of noninvolvement, which has a dispiriting effect on young researchers and weakens their noneconomic incentive to work. There even are those researchers who demonstrably pursue their own "official" Marxism, which they display before the authorities and then neglect during informal scientific discussions. Well, such is the modern variant of *reservatio mentalis*.

Years ago Comrade M. Dobrosielski wrote: "A natural tendency exists among people to view problems and new situations in an old light, and to resolve these problems using old methods."<sup>5</sup> I believe that after the experiences of the 1970's this quote is also meaningful with regard to the social sciences. Above all, it should be a warning to those who benefit from the service of the social sciences and, more accurately, from the services of scholars representing these sciences. There is yet one more aspect of this matter of a practical nature that can be described as the tendency of economic activists and politicians to force scholars to create ad hoc theoretical justifications for undertaken decisions. In this way scholars are forced into the role of propagandists. This situation requires no comment.

5. Unscientific poaching in the various spheres of the social sciences is a separate and delicate problem. It appears in written and spoken form. Concerning publications, authors who declare themselves to be Marxists but who cultivate the usual scientific rubbish should be subject to fine-toothed reviews. The concern here is also about authors to whom Marxism-Leninism is a collection of quotes, which are used as magical incantations in place of substantive arguments. We must review the various forms of political writing very carefully. This writing also has its manifestation of poaching that intensifies informational noise. I believe the harm caused by this type publication needs no substantiation. The right of a scholar to err cannot justify a lack of know-how, suitability, and mastery of the scientific laboratory.

The mentioned varieties of scientific poaching are associated with all kinds of lectures, readings, papers, and the like. This phenomenon is politically dangerous because it occurs in the framework of organizational forms sponsored directly by the party and financed by it. The quality of lectures remains practically beyond control. There are indications that various home-grown Marxists, "specialists in all sciences," present at party meetings and workers' community centers viewpoints of socioeconomic phenomena that are simplified in an unacceptable way, interpreting them in a primitive way, deprecating Marxism and discouraging it at times in front of large audiences. One such poacher who is permitted to disseminate science via his activity can ruin the sustained efforts of many people. Here I am talking about a fringe element, but a fringe that is exceptionally dangerous to the party and the social sciences.

That which was stated above is not by any means a call to forsake the propagation and popularization of Marxism. On the contrary, in the ongoing struggle for the mind of Polish society, popularizing the works of the classes of Marxism-Leninism and the modern achievements of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of the social sciences (and not only of Polish scholars) is of capital significance. It appears that a separate discussion should be dedicated to this problem, and not only among propaganda specialists.

In concluding this fragment, here is a short comment on the "allergy" to slogans and scientific terminology that is occurring in Polish society. It is an illness that manifests itself among people who are obstinate and emotionally excited in reaction to certain aural or visual stimuli and rules out at the very start the possibility of conducting a substantive discussion. This phenomenon increases as people's lives become more difficult. In addition to positive economic and political facts, the probable therapy should consider "words." The language that is used to communicate with people is very important. This concerns not only the language of propaganda but also the language used in the social sciences. The church has abandoned Latin. We also must become better communicators, especially since we do not have to abandon Latin.

6. The well-understood problem of integrating the social sciences is a very important one. I do not intend to relate in detail to all the questions associated with this problem. I would like only to discuss a few arbitrarily chosen questions.

We are now at a time when the social sciences are associated above all with the cadre situation in these sciences. The social sciences community is disintegrated. If we are talking about the disintegration of the social sciences community relative to the political and ideological divisions occurring in this community, then these divisions are obvious. This state in the circle encompassing Marxist researchers and prosocialist non-Marxists is less understandable. The state of disintegration among the party representatives of the social sciences is difficult to understand. To begin with, in this situation one can ponder ways to change this state in the party social sciences community and, at least, at the level of the same areas of science. A good example of an attempt to do this is the activity of the party group associated with the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science and Education that was carried out in accordance with the specific sciences or their group, for example, the party workers group. The integration goals of the party social sciences community should be more extensive and should be primarily of a working nature.

In the integration tasks of the party social sciences community, special attention should be devoted to youth and the youngest workers. After all, this is the group that objectively is in the most difficult situation in all respects. No one needs to be convinced of how much depends on the proper scientific development of this group.

7. In conclusion, a few words about the situation in the legal sciences. The party conference of representatives of the legal sciences that was held in July 1984 disclosed many problems and established the status of the legal sciences. During the course of this meeting, I believe that many of its participants thought seriously about the future of the legal sciences. The real status of Marxism in the legal sciences is a problem of fundamental significance. A realistic determination of this status is, in general, a starting point for all discussions on this theme.

Surmounting the ideological dilution of the legal sciences is another problem.<sup>6</sup> This dilution is more declared than real. It is expressed in the formula that a true scholar conducts pure and objective science, disregarding his private ideology and political sympathies. But everyone knows that this is impossible. Remaining silent about this matter in the name of proper human (read: comradely) relations can only increase the existing disorientation in the community of young lawyers. I do not mean to imply that I am proposing unsubstantive means of converting to Marxism. What is more, I believe that any attempts other than substantive ones to expand the ideological effects of Marxism in the legal sciences must fail.

It would be interesting to discuss the output and achievements of the Marxist and non-Marxist trends in the legal sciences during the 40 years of People's Poland. This should also take note of the Marxist output of PZPR members representing the legal sciences.

The level of popularizing Marxism in the methodology of the legal sciences and the interdisciplinary links between these sciences and the other social sciences are important questions.

The cited article by S. Zawadzki contains an extensive though not exhaustive list of problems requiring scientific solutions.

I consider my reply on the status of the legal sciences as a kind of overture, with the belief that the discussion will be expanded more fully within its frameworks.

Andrzej Skrzypek

Today we are at the dawn of the party conference that is tasked to analyze thoroughly the problems concerning the social sciences. A discussion on this theme, inspired by Comrade Professor Bednarski's NOWE DORGI article, has been in progress for a long time. In joining this discussion, I would like to express a few opinions concerning methods of scientific research.

Today the postulate we present to science most often concerns linking research with practice. This linkage is quite obvious when it concerns the technical sciences, but it is more difficult to visualize in the sphere of the social sciences, especially when it concerns such subjects as modern history and political science. Obviously, implementing this

postulate is possible, but first a question must be answered: What practical need must science meet? Ordinarily, under our conditions, the needs of the ideological front are considered to be this practical need. However, does not such a reply lead in some cases to restrictions in research fields?

The following statement is probably a truism: Research in the field of modern history serves the political needs and, perhaps even to a greater extent, the economic needs of various levels in accordance with the ancient maxim: *Historia est magistra vitae*. But at the same time the statement is a question about the receiver of research results, especially in this area. This question is the essence of the examinations below.

In Poland's reality, a model has been formed wherein the socialist state is the patron and customer, that is, the one who pays. But research results should serve our society and the general good. In this model, the researcher is situated between the employer who, in the end, is quite anonymous and who has allocated money to the researcher in accordance with collective agreements, and a very anonymous receiver, who uses the results presented to him according to his inclinations and skill. However, it seems, and this can be supported by many examples, that the more ambitious and better works usually are accomplished when they are executed per specific orders and not via personal inspiration. The close link, or rather the bilateral relation between the customer and the researcher, should not, however, exclude the former from using the research results. On the contrary, research results should be presented in such away as to satisfy the many and at various times.

Being professionally involved with the problems of modern history, I would like to share the observation that this research concentrates too strongly, in the sense of cadres and themes, on Polish problems, which are resolved using national criteria. Researching the problems of domestic history promotes perhaps the preservation of so-called national identity. On the other hand, many myths arise concerning the uniqueness of Poland and its history. We bandy about many arguments for and against and even split hairs while disregarding the fact that in the flow of world trends and tendencies even our best theoretically structured arguments do not have much of a chance to achieve universal approval, just as there was no chance of implementing the arguments. Even though I am tempted to do so, I do not like to use as an example the Warsaw Uprising, which lately has been the subject of many discussions, because it evokes too much emotion. Therefore, I will use other examples: 1) The Second Republic favored the principle of free trade and the doctrine of exchangeable money and a secure zloty. At the same time, many countries deviated from these principles, using solutions that were theoretically worse, that is, protectionism, trade that was centrally controlled by the state, and paper money. Despite this, at that time these countries expanded much faster than we did, and, unfortunately, Poland lost out in this rivalry. 2) The Polish model for the path to socialism deviated at the end of the 1940's not only because the party was wrong but because the increase in international tensions expanded the trend toward monolithism in the socialist camp.

The weakness of research in general modern history stands in glaring contradiction to the fascination of Poles with foreign countries. But even longer trips are not accompanied by expanded interest in the countries visited. There is a lack of reflection on what factors or phenomena in these countries can influence our own needs, solutions and possibilities. This lack is reflected in current judgments and opinions. The Soviet Union, our fraternal ally and neighbor, is not by any means an isolated example. Too many view this country through the glasses of the propagandists of the enemies of socialism without attempting to be objective, even though one expects more sincere feelings from them. Repeating absurd slogans, they do not even perceive any of the many basic problems of the Soviet Union and the means for and relative difficulty of resolving these problems.

If our propaganda does very much to popularize the Soviet Union, and there is no doubt that it does but the results continue to be unsatisfactory, then perhaps the blame for this state of affairs lies with unsatisfactorily developed scientific research, whose influence is small or simply nil. The statement of this phenomenon must make one wonder because other, more distant countries, where interest in the Soviet Union is much greater and knowledge about various phenomena is much more extensive, are more knowledgeable about a country with which we share a common border. As a result, trade and cultural contacts are much greater, even though this does not occur in tandem with the current state of political relations. Thus, this knowledge bears interest in many ways.

I believe that this weakness in research results from the model of our scientific institutes, which is quite old. Based on observations made in the Soviet Union and some Western countries, I would like to participate in the discussion, presenting a vision for another type of institute that differs, I believe, from the existing ponderous type. The primary characteristics of this institute should be its size, that is, its smallness. It should consist of a few administrators and, literally, only a couple of permanent scientists. This would be the case when the institute functions in conjunction with a higher school. If the institution were independent, it would be part of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], although it would be better if this role were filled by the Ministry of Science, or some kind of ministry of which there could be several, starting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ending with the Ministry of Culture and Art, and it could be somewhat bigger, but no more than 20 to 25 people. The primary institute should provide the funds, but only those funds to cover the institute's operating and material costs. For the higher schools, the institute could repay these funds by organizing seminars or studies for specialists during the students' training process, but on an inter-departmental basis.

The primary source for financing should be the commissions of the various state activities, in accordance with their needs that are entrusted to one's own or another institute which would cover the resources allocated to realize a specific task. That the publishing houses should be such a customer is obvious. The money should be designated for developing a specific theme which would depend on the customer, and the contract should be realized within a period of 6 months to 2 years. It appears that in a situation in which the customer selects the theme, employing an appropriate specialist via the selected institute for this purpose would resolve the problem of linking theory with practice or realizing the research designated to satisfy the need. In this way, the scholars, through their research, would satisfy the specific needs of political and economic circles or the front for ideology and propaganda. A specific consumer also differs from an anonymous one in that he requires information having a designated standard of quality.

However, the modest size of the institute should contrast with its auxiliary resources. It must have its own extensive library unless, as a university institute, it has access to the university library and its specialized departments. The library should contain a complete set of publications, domestic as well as foreign, and what is more important, a selection of scientific periodicals from other countries, national as well as local periodicals, that are freely accessible. Copying services can enhance ease of access to these periodicals. I imagine that the resolution of this problem requires outlays, and large ones at that, but I do not believe that we can achieve any progress today in the described research by way of intellectual speculation or writing a fourth book based on three previous books. Some kind of money is always disbursed for scientific research, but I believe that the concern is not that the lion's share would be squandered, as indicated by the study of the budget of Poland's interwar army. In overlooking this side reflection and recalling my observations, I believe that collections of thematic press clippings can also produce good results for the institution.

In thinking out this vision, it should be emphasized that today computer technology is multiplying the output of mechanical work. Whereas in previous decades computers were used in the exact sciences, they now are being used in the social sciences and humanities. It appears that it will be impossible to maintain the tempo of developing political science and modern history in the near future without using computers. Today in some countries a researcher using a personal computer and a telephone can already obtain from a library a list of works that he can use in his research. The possibilities opened up by personal computers are indeed staggering.

However, I believe that conventional methods as well as research techniques can produce great results even for a researcher with average talent who has the mentioned appropriate auxiliary resources, especially in the form of periodicals and newspapers, because the press material analysis method is quite simple.

I believe that becoming aware of this simple truth is necessary in the communities that are trained and educated by medieval methods and that cry out loudly: We lack resources! I do not believe that anyone would make top-rate archives, such as the full minutes of government meetings, immediately available, and the worth of a single document, even the most interesting one, is of necessity highly relative. Research conducted on the basis of press material, however, is labor-intensive because too much and not too little information is available. I believe that one can accept as a truism that all phenomena that have some kind of general meaning are reflected in the press in one form or another. On the one hand, whoever wants to publicize his program, new solution, or requisite decision uses publications to do so. On the other hand, for example, information beginning with the words "returning from abroad" indicates the existence and extent of phenomena that are remembered unfavorably. Of course, these are but two extreme examples.

However, results obtained from press analyses must be compared with material derived from other sources. To do this, hundreds of bits of information are needed from various encyclopedias, starting with various bibliographies, indexes, lexicons, dictionaries and catalogs and ending with beautiful albums. The WHO's WHO biographic lexicon published by Interpress is but a small brick in the wall of information that must be built so that research of interest to us can produce the expected results.

However, the work results of individual institutions will not provide benefits on a wider scale if these institutions do not cooperate closely with one another and exchange information about their research results. Existing experiences with information bulletins, though practiced on a scale that is too small, are quite satisfactory.

But the question arises about accessing in their entirety research results that are not published but recorded only on typewritten pages. The capital invested as of now in hundreds of projects, mostly doctoral theses but also other projects performed by institutions, rests in closets and in practice is wasted. I am not thinking about the best works, but only those average works that are not worthy of publication but that always contain a certain amount of knowledge. Today's reproduction technology permits such works to be distributed in whole or part. As an aside here, I believe that because of the high costs of printing and publication one can expect that in the future various works that are known to have few consumers will be distributed via microfilm copies (or microfiche). Source publications will probably also be available in this form. Here the question should be asked about author's rights. I believe that these rights should always be observed, even if the work is unpublished, and that the customer should pay the copying costs just as one pays, in an analogous sense, for a purchased book.



Institutes cooperating with one another, and there should be many, should be complementary as well as competitive. I believe that in this area it would be beneficial to transfer to the base of the scientific research organizations those positive experiences that enhanced specialization and the results of cooperation in industry. It is only under such conditions that scientific works can arise that will present a given problem in a given time frame, that is, almost immediately, emulating journalistic accounts where it concerns rapidity and exceeding them when it concerns quality. In relating these considerations, one could rightly ask: In postulating such an extensive subordination of modern history and political science to the orders of superior authorities, will not the canon of freedom of science be compromised? I believe the reply to this outwardly sensitive question will be negative. First, by virtue of their numbers, the institutions will counteract the monopolies that are assumed to limit this freedom. Second, research conducted in the social sciences has been, is, and will always be subordinate to some kind of doctrine, way of thinking and evaluating, or political line. He who does not believe this should study the history of the ban on disseminating the chronicles of Jan Dlugosz, undoubtedly the most famous work of our entire historiography, which was mandatory till the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty. It is only natural that a funder will prefer a specific theme or method. However, this link is bilateral because in addition to being influenced by a host of external factors, a researcher also makes recommendations and influences these factors via the results of his studies and applied solutions. I believe that if the question posed by a customer is of an open nature and the final results of the research are not known beforehand, then the postulate of the freedom of science will be observed. Obviously, the task of the authorities is to direct science so that the overall results respond to their views.

There is one more question: What kind of results is this system of research supposed to produce? In addition to the stereotyped conclusions that can always be formulated, that is, that it must serve to expand knowledge about our world, its countries and its problems, I would prefer first of all that these be socialist countries. The overall results should be an accurate and current picture of the countries in this community, including an analysis of the methods used by them to resolve numerous problems, and a description of the achieved results such that their positive experiences could be transferred as quickly as possible to our area, and the difficulties and problems of others that were detected and overcome could serve further as quickly as possible the building of a socialist society in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. H. Bednarski, "Marxism-Leninism and the Development of the Social Sciences in the Polish People's Republic," NOWE DROGI No 3, 1984 pp 5-17.
2. As used in this text, the term "social sciences" means the mentioned social sciences.
3. Among other things, there is a fundamental difference between the discretionary qualities of the scholar and the political apparatus worker (and party activist). The rules of this game also include the scholar's social prestige and the economic guarantees for his scientific research activities.
4. I believe that such a quality is exhibited, for example, in the reply of T.M. Jaroszewski regarding philosophy (T.M. Jaroszewski, "The Situation in Philosophy and the Obligation of Philosophy," NOWE DROGI No 8, 1984 pp 126-138) and the work by S. Zawadzki regarding the legal sciences (S. Zawadzki, "The Status of the Legal Sciences and Their Task in the Process of Socialist Renewal," PANSTWO I PRAWO No 9, 1984 pp 3-17).
5. M. Dobrosielski, "Problems of Modern Times," Warsaw, 1969, p 15.
6. S. Zawadzki discusses this ideological situation in the legal sciences more extensively; op. cit., p 7 ff.

11899

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POLAND

# OBSTACLES ON ROAD TO NATIONAL RECONCILIATION EXPLORED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 1, 5 Jan 85 p 6

[Article: "An Attempt at Dialogue"]

[Text] How do we proceed toward national reconciliation? Is there in our country room for an opposition which accepts the PRL Constitution? What are the achievements and the failures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]? These were some of the questions dealt with in an interesting debate among Prof Andrzej Grzegorzczak, philosopher; Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, sociologist and PRON activist; Prof Marian Orzechowski, political scientist and PZPR and PRON activist; Prof Janusz Reykowski, psychologist and PRON activist; Prof Andrzej Tymowski, sociologist and PRON activist; and Jerzy Grzybiczak and Zbigniew Siedlecki from the ODRODZENIE editorial board. Extensive excerpts from the debate follow; most of its participants are well known to POLITYKA readers.

[Z. Siedlecki] First question: Is reconciliation possible? Second question: What constitutes, or what might constitute, the subject of such reconciliation?

Finally, a third question, which ensues from the answers to the earlier questions, namely, what is to be done in order--first--to enlarge the reconciliation following, and not only in the purely numerical terms, and--second--to broaden its platform?

[M. Orzechowski] I would add some more questions: not only on what reconciliation should be reached, but also who should reach it with whom? And under what conditions? What should be the institutional forms of such reconciliation, and are they necessary at all? What social shapes might it and should it assume, given the existence of the PRON and of other formal and informal groups outside the movement, which believe that reconciliation is not only possible but necessary if our nation is to survive and to develop normally.

[M. Kozakiewicz] . . .I said we must assume the permanent existence of an opposition in Poland. It would be unrealistic to wait for the opposition to dissolve spontaneously, and to give up affecting development or at least expressing its opinion on major affairs. Such a situation behooves both the authorities, generally speaking, and the opposition to produce a concept of action under the altered, post-1980 circumstances.

I think we should promote opportunities and circumstances which allow people regarded as part of the opposition, or who consider themselves in the opposition, to express their opinions and to formulate critical remarks, including their doubts and their proposals for the solution of specific problems--in short, to participate in public life. I do believe that the PRON--because of its development since the congress and because of the organizational structure assumed after the congress--is no longer capable of serving the proper place for the activization of the opposition representatives. My conclusion results from the lack of reaction to the multiple initiatives propounded by the PRON. For these reasons I have suggested that we should start thinking about a new initiative which would meet the opposition circles halfway, and provide for establishing various smaller grassroots movements and organizations where such people might express their views and act free from PRON supervision, because that is apparently what bothers them most. Working within the statutes endorsed by the proper authorities, they would be able to become active in selected areas of public life, according to their qualifications and interests.

Some critical retorts have pointed out that there is no place for opposition in a socialist state, or--to put it in another way--that the authorities cannot accept opposition qua opposition. I would like to argue precisely this point. I believe that many aspects of the entire situation in Poland are atypical. Poland is a country which has followed a unique course of development. Since we are in a critical economic situation, and in a most complex political one as well, I doubt whether under such circumstances it makes any sense to follow--solely or even mainly--principles (. . .) which are blatantly contrary to real life. I mean, contrary to avowed oppositionists there are many more people who think in an oppositional way, who feel in an oppositional way, who live in an oppositional way.

[. . .] Speaking about opposition in Poland, it is probably necessary to distinguish between its political--systemic aspect and the ideological one. One can discern no such distinction in the mode of thinking of our authorities, even though the most recent events have demonstrated how heterogeneous people labeled together as oppositionists are. One can hardly discern it in the pronouncements of the opposition itself.

Opposition, in its classical meaning, as found in the West, denotes an organized group, usually a party or a political faction, which opposes the government, fights it in parliament, aspires to take over power, and above all hinders all governmental actions (precisely with such a takeover in view). In this sense there is no classical political-systemic opposition in Poland. There was none even in 1980 or 1981. After all, no party was established, and the opposition had no parliamentary representation. In the final stage some leading Solidarity groups did indeed begin to evolve clearly toward an oppositional political party (still without any parliamentary representation), and that was expressed by changing its name from a "labor union" to a "social movement," but this evolution was cut short by martial law.

Even though our opposition was neither "total" nor "classical" (since it never reached the organizational stage of a political party), in some respects it was

even more radical than its Western equivalents. The latter aim at taking over power without changing the system, while ours aimed at taking over of power in order to change the system--with time, that was becoming more and more obvious and clear. For this reason it might have been called a political-systemic opposition, but always, even within Solidarity, it constituted a minority, except for the leading bodies which fell under its sway (although with some significant exceptions).

Today such a political-systemic opposition has been organizationally crushed. Certainly there are some polarized internal groups of people, descendants of the Solidarity extremists, such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Committee for the Defense of the Workers [KOR], etc., which still envisage a takeover of power or replacing the system with a different one, changing Poland's bloc membership, etc. In my view, no reconciliation with such people is possible, since they are not ready to accept any reconciliation save one dictated by them on their own terms.

However, opposition in its psychological and ideological sense consists of people who are opposed to certain issues, who negate, who hold opinions different from those held by the authorities, but who have no intention to take over power. They are oppositionally minded in specific areas, in relation to specific enterprises or methods, and sometimes in a general way. Let me quote the words of the film director Kieslowski, who discussing in an interview his attitude toward the country and the post-martial law realities said: "We do not accept what has happened, but we are going to live with it." That is typical of an ideological oppositional posture, which appears mainly among intellectual, scholarly, and artistic communities, and here--in my opinion--there are grounds for reconciliation. Provided that the number of those problems which "we cannot accept" will--gradually but visibly--go down, while the number of problems about which we can agree, knowing we want to live here and nowhere else, will go up [ . . . ]

[A. Grzegorzczuk] I hope that, according to Mr Kieslowski's definition, I may consider myself as belonging to the opposition.

[Z. Siedlecki] Since we are discussing who is to be counted among the oppositionists and who is not, it might perhaps be worthwhile to quote a significant pronouncement from the closing speech given by General Jaruzelski at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee: "We do not lightheartedly push anybody into opposition, and we close no doors to anybody. Our experience continues to confirm that line in an ever broader scope. To people who because of their concern for the real Poland express opinions in one way or another different from our own, we say: Make use of the opportunity created by the PRON and its broad offers to present your point of view, to confront matter-of-fact arguments, jointly to work out optimal solutions."

[A. Tymowski] I do not belong to the PRON, and I do not intend to join it in the foreseeable future. In a certain respect the PRON is nothing but the same merchandise once offered by the Front of National Unity [FJN], but under a different label. Because of that, it is most difficult to convince public opinion about its worth; such an effect can be achieved not by words, but solely by deeds and by practical behavior.

Unlike you, gentlemen, I do not consider the question of the so-called reconciliation as essential. There are scores of nicely developing countries in which there is no reconciliation, and each citizen has the right to express his opinions and to take a stand within the framework determined by the system. I think that in our country it is simply tragic to aspire to this so-called unity, when everybody says the same thing. I am afraid of all those bodies which always vote unanimously, where there is no spectrum of opinions, no dissident views. This is true with regard to the people's councils and to other representative bodies as well. For me discussion is something I cherish most.

The essential thing is to establish conditions which allow each citizen to act for the good of the country; at the moment such freedom is very often de facto quite constrained.

Let me recall that today we are talking in a different climate than in October. The leading centers of power have denounced the distortions disclosed in the work of the security apparatus. Society as a whole has accepted the enhancement of the rule of law in the working of this apparatus. All that could have been done even without any reconciliation, and with assured societal applause. At the same time, it has created an opportunity to profit from the situation, that is to say, to find wider support among the population [ . . . ]

To create in our country some real freedom of action for various minstructures which--obviously, within the framework of the system--express the views of different social groups is the fundamental issue. What really matters are not declarations but actual safeguards for the free activity of such groups, working for the good of our country. The leading centers of power should understand that such minstructures do not always need to sing in unison.

Our internal political situation should evolve toward offering various social groups the possibility of expressing their views. On the other hand, it should simultaneously evolve toward understanding that boycott is wrong per se. I believe that the emerging opportunities ought to be seized, whether in minor or major issues. A large part of the population keeps aloof of whatever is going on. I would like, according to my capabilities, to a greater or lesser extent, to have an impact on what is going on. Let us create conditions under which the entire society, from top to bottom, will actually be able to express its opinions. Do not let us pose such big demands, let us set up more modest goals.

[M. Orzechowski] I discern in your arguments certain schematic thinking. When you discuss reconciliation, you identify reconciliation with uniformity in thinking. I can discern here even an echo of equating reconciliation with the concept of moral and political unity. Reconciliation, as I see it, in no way assumes uniform thinking, speaking, formulation of concepts. It assumes, however, that there are goals which today, and in the near future, we consider most essential, determining the present and the future of the nation, the efficient functioning of the state, our "to be or not to be." That is what we are trying to achieve reconciliation, with each person keeping his own opinions, his own likes and dislikes concerning many other issues which take

place throughout the country. It seems to me that reconciliation can be aimed solely, first at the goals we wish to achieve, and second at the rules of the game which have to be observed by all those who join the reconciliation [. . . .]

Concerning the apparatus: Obviously, each one of us is familiar with the tragic death of Father Popieluszko, and may have his own opinion. But I would be very careful not to "backtrack" the film. I would draw from Father Popieluszko's death no definite conclusions or statements concerning any earlier events. We have, indeed, no grounds for concluding that there were any other events of a similar nature. That remains to be proven. For me, this whole series of events proves, above all, how difficult are the circumstances under which the process of socialist renewal in Poland has been proceeding. After all, it is still under attack from both sides: from the forces of the systemic opposition--and that is the decisive direction of the attack--and from the extreme left, super-revolutionary forces. It is a classical instance of attempts to drive us back from the positions assumed by the forces of socialist renewal at the Ninth Congress, and confirmed since.

I agree that our professional apparatus should be put under stricter and more effective forms of social surveillance, exerted by organs created for that purpose. I think that the statement voted by the Central Committee at its most recent session leaves no doubts about it. But regardless of everything, I would rather consider the issue from another point of view. One has to keep in mind that the apparatus has been, and I believe will continue to be for a long time yet, the target of a smear campaign, of blackmail, slander, etc. The target of various activities which aim at surrounding it with a certain aura, and at alienating it from the society. I mention the point to avoid, in this heated up atmosphere, any rehash of old concepts, according to which all the evil is to be found within the apparatus. That the apparatus is the culprit.

Another issue concerns assessing the PRON. I do not intend to deny PRON's weaker points; I have indeed spoken about them more than once. I believe many things should be changed in the movement. But I do not share Prof Kozakiewicz's pessimism. It is, in my view, rather excessive. Please remember that the PRON as a formalized structure has existed for just over a year. And the aims it has set up for itself, the goals it wants to achieve in a situation in which it has come into being, are actually designed for generations, for decades.

Each one of us would like to see them implemented all at once. I would rather assess the PRON and its activities in a much longer-term perspective.

I also have my doubts concerning the description of the opposition, presented by Prof Kozakiewicz. Prof Bodnar in ZYCIE WARSZAWY singled out several kinds of opposition. One can assume that there is an antisystemic opposition that aims at a change of political structures and at a takeover of power, as well as an intrasystemic opposition, the psychological and ideoeethical one. Which one does Professor have in mind, speaking about its permanent character? The systemic one, the ideoeethical one or the psychological one? Are we supposed to regard this permanence as an immanent feature of the socialist system, or as a feature of the period we live in, which can last for a long time?

If we accept Prof Kozakiewicz's reflections on the ideoethical and psychological opposition as our starting point, are we not guilty of idealism in believing that--provided there were other forms, platforms, organizational structures, or activities different from the present ones--the ideoethical opposition would become a most constructive element in the development of our reality? Does the crux of the matter really lie in the fact that people regarded as members of such an opposition actually wish to improve socialism in our country, but have no opportunity to do so? Is their posture really determined by an aspiration for active involvement, for the externalization of their aspirations, for improving our life? Perhaps their posture is determined by something else? By despair of all activity, by disbelief in effective activity? I think that the selection of the direction we should take depends on how these questions are answered. But I would not rule out the possibility that in some cases Prof Kozakiewicz's suggestions might prove to be the most constructive.

Still, I would rather prefer not to formulate any generalized or systemic prescriptions. The experience of the 1970's indicates that any expectations for the institutionalization of an opposition within a certain framework outside the official structures bring results totally different from those intended. I have serious doubts whether that is the right prescription, whether the utilization of our intellectual assets can be achieved only in the manner described by Prof Kozakiewicz. Besides, I am not so determinedly and unilaterally prejudiced toward those people who, even now, are still against us. I believe that they too should not be regarded as totally lost. I have to admit honestly that I do not quite understand the general objectives and the a priori assumed convictions, according to which people who wish to improve our life but who believe that socialism is the essence of our nation have--under the circumstances created by the PRON, hand in hand with the PRON, or on the PRON platform--no opportunity to do anything at all. The structure of the PRON leadership can be changed and improved. There are no obstacles for doing just that. It is not the most essential issue, and apparently it is not the structure that matters most.

[A. Tymowski] In my opinion, what matters is not what the producer himself thinks about his product but the opinion of the person who will consume it. Not what the gentlemen of the PRON think, but what the population thinks. It seems to me that despite all the promotion, these products find no buyers.

[M. Orzechowski] In this case the analogy between producer and consumer is improper, since you forget the third factor which affects the process, namely the one which shapes the climate. In PRON's case this third factor appeared at the very beginning, trying to keep apart the "producer" and the "consumers." From the very beginning it has been claimed that this was an abortive work of the regime, which was just trying to create a facade, and that nothing was going to come out of it. Unfortunately, we used to hear this everywhere.

[A. Tymowski] That was the competition at work . . . .

[M. Orzechowski] No, not the competition, since this third factor had no constructive suggestions, nothing to offer but return to the state of affairs



prior to 13 December [1981]. Such opinions were often voiced without any substantive knowledge. Negative opinions about the PRON were voiced by people who knew little about it.

[A. Grzegorzczuk] . . .but for me, what needs recalling and what projects into our future agenda is the fact that 3 years ago 10 million people joined Solidarity. There were among them probably many genuine vocations, even though a lot of cussedness and fashion as well. It was a moment for self-determination, which greatly changed the situation. The general criticism of the 1970's has raised aspirations, not solely material ones but spiritual ones as well. And a certain restoration of festive postures, their great rallying around [. . . .] The authorities should have said then, and should have continued to say, something like that: "You had 10 million, but you lacked the necessary political sense. At the Solidarity Congress you had voted a message to the peoples of Eastern Europe. That is to say, you made a step which our allies understood as the virtual denouncement of the foundations which make our alliance possible. Because of that, we cannot let you take power." That would have been an honest way to say at least some part of the truth. The question remains, how--after having said it--can you go on talking to people?

What can be done in the present situation? Just a few small steps [. . . .]

[J. Reykowski] . . .That existing structure does not stand for the "ruling team" or for a separate political organization--it is a system whose functioning is based on the participation of millions of people and involves the interests of millions of people. Recalling the numerical membership of Solidarity seems to me most evocative. Compared to the Polish electorate as a whole, which amounts to some 26 million, those 8 or 9 million should be seen as a major group, but still a minority, not a majority. By obstinate repetition of this figure, we leave aside all the rest. But what determines the shape of the political structure in our country is the fact that the system has protected the interests and assured the upward mobility of the masses. Whatever can be said about certain shortcomings of the political system in our country, its essential feature is the advancement of the plebeian masses.

It is not by coincidence that the conflict which had taken place in Poland, and which had 13 December [1981] as its turning point, has brought about no massive or violent involvement in the clash of those forces and those social groups which in most revolutions have been the most determined and the most radical element, i.e., the plebeian masses. In my opinion, it has not done so just because the fundamental needs and interests of those groups were actually being protected by the system.

When reviewing the situation in Poland, a mistake is often made when part of the population is treated as the entire population, and the fancies of this part of it are treated as reflecting the ideals and the images of the whole.

Having said that, I am far from neglecting all other groups, or questioning their social impact; I dispute only the claims of some intelligentsia groups that their perspective reflects the perspective of the entire Polish society.

But at the same time I would like to stress to the utmost that, when talking about the intelligentsia, we have in mind the mental condition, the postures, the ambitions, and the interests of social groups which play a crucial role in social development.

Many facts indicate that there are larger social strata in Poland, intelligentsia strata in particular, which feel alienated in this country. A substantial part of the intelligentsia feels alienated, has the feeling that it is a second-class social group, that its material condition, its social prestige, its share in power remain disproportionate to its capacities, aspirations, and ambitions. I consider this an exceptionally important political fact; up till now no political formula and no political institution have proved capable of coping with this phenomenon.

At this point one should ask what role the PRON is playing. I think that during the period of its growth, during and after its congress, the PRON has accepted some political solutions which did not go far enough in satisfying that part of our society which we are now discussing. The concept of reconciliation, included in the PRON offer, has not been--in my opinion--accepted by any significant sectors of that society. It has probably not been accepted because the PRON conception, as reflected in the consciousness of precisely those groups, has not sufficiently taken into account some elements of key importance to those groups: it has not succeeded in providing any convincing arguments concerning the movement's genuineness and its substantial autonomy. It is indeed true that it is not easy to devise a formula which--while respecting the main principles of the political structure--would provide a chance for the substantiality of those groups. Whenever one discusses the issue, whenever one starts talking about solutions which include respect for the substantiality of those groups, one always starts talking about the free interplay of political forces, and the specter of destabilization immediately looms large.

This specter, personified by Solidarity, is one of the factors which block any possibility of devising adequate solutions. It discourages all search for solutions which--while safeguarding the stability of the essential systemic frameworks--would at the same time instill in various social groups the sense of autonomous participation in sociopolitical life, and remove this destructive feeling of alienation [ . . . ]

[M. Orzechowski] Regardless of the figures, it has to be stressed very clearly that the same Solidarity itself brought about the loss of the chances it might have had, that it lost and wasted the "golden horn" given it by the course of events. Its chance to establish a new labor movement, a new organization different from that of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ], based on different principles, embodying the real aspirations of the working class; it lost its chance to create gradually, to improve and to perfect, all the best things created by socialism.

The course of 13 December [1981] and the subsequent events have fully confirmed this. Solidarity abandoned its chance not only by procuring at its congress the message to the peoples of Eastern Europe. I think that it lost its chance

as soon as it proclaimed itself a social movement, and then actually a large political party. Even before gaining power, it had demonstrated where it would have led Poland had it actually taken power. Please tell me, what positive effects has Solidarity actually left behind, outside the sphere of changes in consciousness--without prejudging whether such changes are positive or negative? The crisis, once started, has logically led to the terrible end. It began to raze Poland to the ground. One might assume that, had it taken power, Solidarity would have ruined the country in all imaginable domains.

Solidarity lost its chance also because from the very beginning antisocialist and antisystemic inspiration was inherent in its activities. The KOR, the KPN, and other such tendencies were not, after all, invented by goblins or by socialist propaganda; they were real, just as real as the foreign inspiration. The Solidarity period as well as the subsequent post-December period have proven this.

It was those divisions and antagonisms that brought it to the dangerous crest of late December [1981]; because of them, the government was forced to make its decision contrary to the opinion of a substantial part of the population, being--in my view--backed up by another part of the population, perhaps even by its majority. There was tacit acceptance.

Were it not for that tacit acceptance, no military strength, no force of constraint, would have allowed for such a course of events as we have witnessed since 13 December [ . . . ]

[A. Tymowski] The legitimization of power derives to a large extent from the effectiveness of its rule. The 1970's ended in a total socioeconomic collapse. And Solidarity emerged against the background of that collapse. . . .

In the 1970's there was no Solidarity. Let us keep the dates straight. When the movement appeared--and it appeared, after all, after the parliamentary election, after the party election--it changed the entire line of our policies. Let us not forget that to a large extent we owe it the beginning of the renewal [ . . . ]

If we are supposed to look for political solutions, we should stop and think what was it that people looked for in Solidarity. The fundamental value expected from Solidarity was the chance for political expression, the possibility of proclaiming opinions and affecting the course of social processes. At present, the fundamental issue which calls for political solution amounts to providing society with a chance for exerting genuine influence on matters which affect it [ . . . ]

I would like, therefore, to see at least that we are preparing such solutions. Unfortunately, we just do the same as we always used to do. We build additional coking plants and steel mills. All over the world everybody is turning away from the steel industry. We have to work out some bold concept for overcoming our economic difficulties, and some way of making the work of the population more efficient. That is the essential issue, more important than the Solidarity question [ . . . ]

[M. Kozakiewicz] What is the cause of PRON's insufficient credibility and effectiveness, of its social inacceptability? There are many causes. Among them is the power structure in the PRON: it was designed from the very beginning in such a way that it has deprived the PRON of all the appearances of verisimilitude, of autonomy. The whole PRON presidium consists of high-ranking party representatives of the six signatories. They are the deputy chairmen.

Nor is that all. I believe that from the very beginning, ever since the PRON was designed--and, after all, together with Prof Reykowski I too had some share in this project--the authorities have been haunted by a specter before their eyes. The specter of Solidarity. It was even quite openly admitted, even in the PRON presidium, where somebody said the authorities could not allow "the PRON to degenerate into a new aggressive Solidarity." And therefore safety valves had to be built in.

And I remember my reply, when I said: If you build in too thick safety valves no current will flow through, and the whole contrivance will not be able to function. Even before the PRON began operating, there was the fear that it might operate too well. And so it goes on to this very day [ . . . ]

There has been, and still is, the fear of the excessive importance and rank of the PRON. Because of that its impact is nil, since it always moves within a narrowly confined space. The lower the level, the tighter the constraints. But it should be added that internally, for its members, the PRON has actually become a place for truly free discussion. At no time in People's Poland has one been able to discuss so freely, to throw bitter words of truth in the face of the supreme authorities, as it happens in the PRON. Alas, there are too few people there who want to talk, or who have anything important to say. That is the result of the absenteeism of the intellectuals.

The earlier PRON actions might have provided some measure of effectiveness, sensibility, and efficiency. Unfortunately, we ourselves have not been happy with the results. We were given full freedom of speech, and it resulted in half-measures, disproportionate to the invested energy, to the work and the effort as well as to the hopes attached to them [ . . . ]

[Z. Siedlecki] Our discussion has provided some constructive criticism of the PRON. Perhaps not all the elements of this criticism were properly addressed, since from the essence of the 18th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee it follows that the party wants no thick safety valves in the PRON; on the contrary, it has authorized and encouraged our movement toward more open activity, to initiate a dialogue with all the political tendencies which respect the principles of the PRL Constitution.

12485

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POLAND

# POLITICAL TENDENCIES OF YOUNGER GENERATION EVALUATED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 2, 13 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "Change in Generations"]

[Text] To begin with, I must reassure the politicians that this does not have to do with them. This will be about the changing of the guard between generations. I have an increasingly stronger feeling of belonging to the departing generation, although I began my studies after the war, and thus in theory I do not belong to the oldest generation. Orzeszkowa wrote, "A year must be counted as two for us children of the dark night." I am not at all thinking of persuading anyone that it was precisely my generation that lived in the "dark night," although we experienced the occupation, among other things. But I know more through the adversities we experienced, because things really were not too happy for us, and thus the exhaustion of some of us approaching our sixties creates the subjective feeling that we are bearing one or several "crosses" more. The feeling of departure, besides, may result less from our own experiences than from an awareness that the latest "period of storm and pressure" in 1980 and 1981 was the work of younger people in their twenties. I do not intend to call their defeat, hypocritically, a victory, but there is no longer any doubt for me that it is not my generation but the younger one that will determine Poland's further course and fate. Whether with more success and sense than my own is another matter. Their mistakes, however, will surely be different from the ones made by many of those who entered public life immediately after the war. But young people are curious and suspicious, especially when their elders use them to settle their own accounts. All children are pitiless, but this is their sacred right. Perhaps they just do not know how quickly life passes and that the next generation will also demand an accounting from them.

Pilsudski's supporters, aging and turning toward the right, said, "Whoever was not a socialist in his youth will be a swine in his old age." I find this justification very convenient. I will add to it that not only girls and ladies have a past; after a certain period, people involved in public life always have one.

I am writing this with the idea that some people feel themselves so entrapped in the mistakes of their past that this, to a certain extent, also distorts their vision of the present. This does not mean, however, that some of the elite of the older generation should completely forget that they were not always right.

Thus, some Catholics of the postwar period, including the undersigned, did not pass their entrance examination of life with flying colors, since they allowed themselves to be drawn into political concepts that were Promethean in theory, which did not have any chance, and which led them astray morally. Boleslaw Piasecki was a great ideological seducer, even when he devised completely fantastic plans. I was aware of all this, and as one of many, I dealt with it in various publications 28 years ago. Whoever reads should know this. Recently a certain person writing for the Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO, attacking the highest Church hierarchy in Poland with great zest, wrote that I should not play any role either, since I had lost out politically. It is interesting what the political victory of a Catholic under the conditions of real socialism is based on, in this gentleman's opinion. I am citing this episode, which does not have any significance in itself, in order to call attention to the fact that in the West the battle with the Church in Poland is being conducted with great passion, and every pretext and various tools are used in it in many countries. It is worthwhile to note this, although I see in this not so much a conspiracy as the irrational reflexes of politicians who really have lost.

The postwar generation had different illusions than today's youth. At that time certain things were just being outlined, and different possible eventualities and directions of evolution were apparent. This was fully confirmed in 1956, which in general, as a people and as a generation, we did not utilize in the worst way possible for Poland. Then the political bacillus with which we had been infected still burned for a certain time, and after a few years it passed, as an evil, sinful love suddenly passes. I have written eight books and hundreds of articles since that time, and I do not need to consider this my loss. The process of depoliticization among young people starting out after the war was naturally not completely unexpected. It was just that there was a multiplication of crises, turning points, and experiences. There was increased understanding of the decisive role of culture for Polish spiritual and national identity. Pure politics suffered a depreciation, perhaps too much of one, since no people can remain without a reasonable policy.

Today the exhaustion of people who have made many mistakes is accompanied by satisfaction that there are countless candidates for the changing of the guard. They will certainly not repeat our mistakes, but I do not doubt that they will make their own, since "errare humanum est." We have so many young people interested in public life that there is no way to characterize them as a whole. Perhaps it is better to talk about the part of them that can be recognized from

one point of observation or another. Above all, I admire their ideological involvement, although I also perceive a quite substantial fringe of practical materialism and cunning. The symbol of the dreams of these young people is a trip to the West, or prospering by "scheming." Both things are after all fairly difficult to do lucratively in practice.

We are naturally interested above all in people concerned with ideas. I have an impression that too many of them are subject to irrationalism. They make a mistake that is precisely the opposite of the sins of my youth. After losing 6 million people during the war, we were fascinated by the slogan of the biological rescue of the people, by the laws of geopolitics (----) (31 July 1981 law on the control of publications and performances, paragraph 2, section 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)). They, today's generation, have become so absorbed in their anger that they allow themselves to believe that "wanting is being able," without taking into account the objective circumstances of the place and time. It seems to me that the greatest mistake is a sort of new Polonocentrism, which does not take into account the fact that the dramatic contest for the world is universal, and that in it, it can very easily become the object and tool of foreign interests. Finally, there seems to be a complete loss of the understanding that politics was and is a contest of forces, and thus the capacity to make a compromise constitutes an inseparable part of all political rationality. Naturally, there cannot be a compromise without good will from the other side as well, and all major forms of agreement must be negotiated and coordinated, not arbitrary.

Here I must necessarily digress a little on the subject of the non-monolithic nature of generations. Calendar age does not naturally predetermine ideological and political convictions and attitudes. From the generation that entered public life immediately after the war, also only a few joined Catholic circles of various orientations, and many of them after a few years changed their orientation. But, after all, many people from this postwar generation went into the woods, into prison, into emigration, into practical and profitable apolitical professions, etc., etc. This same differentiation, although naturally in other directions corresponding to the present situation, can be noted in the young people presently entering public life. I am fully aware of the fundamental differences within every generation, just as within every society.

But we are interested here in people who are fascinated by the ideological and intellectual life of Poland, and in practice they are the only subject of our deliberations. There are also those among them who have emigrated, been interned, imprisoned, have been given amnesty, etc. I am most interested, however, in those who want to be ideologically and intellectually creative. My

accusation of irrationalism does not apply to such mature intellectuals as Marcin Krol, for example, or the interesting and promising activists, like Aleksander Hall, since they and those like them seem to have their feet on the ground. But the overwhelming majority of young people, in my opinion, are inclined to soar in the clouds. Naturally, no one admits to this and all of this is concealed by great slogans and values, by the conviction that there is an extraordinary and one-time situation, and finally by the tendency toward a determined attitude in which an apparent lack of realism conceals what is allegedly the profoundest realism of inalienable values. I would never venture to deny that inalienable values exist, as well as the necessity of sacrifices and renunciations, but I wrote not too long ago that there are no principles of freedom and no political philosophy that could ignore the real situation of the people. I thus think that when we all argue so passionately with each other about the highest values, our people and our state are outdistanced in the development of civilization, which in the long term cannot help having political and international consequences. This entire issue also constitutes one of the aspects of Polish democratic aspirations. Those who are weak, backward, and outstripped by others technically and economically generally do not increase the extent of their freedom and independence. In short, the concern for the condition of the state is our common concern, regardless of all the differences, gulfs, and ideological divisions. This is an issue that is being forgotten, and which, based on the experiences of Poland in the last two centuries, should have a permanent place of honor in our national awareness. I also think that this issue, in spite of everything, somehow unites us, but a justifiable question arises here about the conditions and possibilities for all of Poland's children to work for it. Obviously, the crucial political factors can give a convincing answer to this question. Naturally, I am not speaking about a propagandistic and reassuring answer, but rather about a factual use of true talents and brains, within the framework of a pluralist society and not a conformist one.

While acknowledging young people's full right to criticism and to absorption with the sensitive recesses of our postwar history, at the same time I do not have any reason just to give young people compliments by this. If some of us are subject to a sort of childish disease of progressivism, toward which the somehow suggestive Boleslaw Piasecki drove us, then part of the generation that is presently coming forward has a tendency to search for its origin in various historical schools of Polish politics. Sometimes one can even observe not only occurrences of a search for an origin, but also a mere mechanical transfer of assumptions which are now only history. I will not try to enumerate all of these tendencies, but one can see very clearly among young people references to and even a rehashing of romantic-messianic, conservative, popular-democratic, Pilsudski-ite, syndicalist, and old-Christian Democratic Party ideologies, and many others besides. This phenomenon disturbs me considerably, since if the continuity of national traditions is a condition for Polish spiritual and



cultural identity, this use of the ideologies of a previous epoch always creates disagreement. Young people must thus be more precise and express themselves clearly when they aim at adopting a certain productive methodology in political thought, since too frequently they give the impression of being mechanical imitators of something that will no longer return, since history does not repeat itself. On the other hand, one may benefit from the political thought of the people by using lasting analytical models, but not by transferring political recommendations from one epoch to another one with completely distinct objective international conditions, civilization, and system. In addition to this, a great deal of confusion is caused by using historical terminology that suggests a rehashing of obsolete movements. Not everything that determines tradition should be called conservatism, not to mention the strongly pejorative social perception of such terms as nationalism, even though people are, and for the foreseeable future will be, the main subject of politics. In short, I advise not looking to the past, but answering the challenges of the present.

This advice could certainly be spared if a discussion of the present could take place without any determining conditions. But we know that that is not the case. It is precisely this, among other things, that has been causing the continuing escape into history for years. I am not an opponent of using historical analogies in current disputes, although it is a fairly imperfect method, since all historical analogies are examples rather than convincing arguments. In addition to this, the misuse of history for current polemics leads to the instrumentalization of history and thus usually to a distortion of it, and even a misrepresentation of it. The worst thing of all, however, is dogmatic adherence to ideologies from past epochs, since unfortunately they are not capable of answering the questions and challenges of our extremely different epoch.

If one wants to avoid this, however, one should seek the maximum possible freedom for ideological thought relating to the present. No one should be too afraid that someone might voice mistaken or dubious views. After all, it is possible to engage in polemics with them; that is what scholarly or journalistic criticism is for. The level of this criticism in Poland seems to me to be alarming. When TRYBUNA LUDU sounds the alarm over and over again as a result of some opinion in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, that is not an expression of an exchange of views in intellectual life, just a desire for political "pressure." The publications of the official establishment also exert "pressure" on each other, in a way that demonstrates the great animosities among their editorial boards, but not a revival of Polish intellectual life. Thus, if we want to keep young people from falling into ideological abstraction and for them not to be dreamers, then we should allow them to speak openly. Then we will convince each other. Otherwise there will simply be a growth in the mutual distance among various parts of society, not just between different generations.

The changing of the guard between generations is presently inevitable, as it always has been in history. It does not take place from one day to the next, however. For a certain time, the older and younger generations coexist with each other. I am thus asking for the conditions for freedom of thought, so that this coexistence will enrich Polish thought.

9909

CSO: 2600/491

POLAND

TRANSCRIPT OF URBAN 29 JANUARY PRESS CONFERENCE

AU071119 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Feb 85 p 4

[Transcript of press conference given to foreign journalists by government spokesman Jerzy Urban at the Interpress Center in Warsaw on 29 January]

[Excerpt] Joerg Bremer, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Two question. First, do you see any threat to Minister Genscher's announced visit to Poland? The second questions concerns the Pen Club. Last year, the chairman of the Pen Club was in Poland and even met General Jaruzelski. In this context, I would like to ask if it is possible for a democratically elected Pen Club board to hold a general meeting in such a way that this Pen Club's authorities may be chosen. What prospects do you see for this?

Urban: We want Minister Genscher's visit to take place. Preparatory talks are under way. The Federal Government should be asked whether or not there are any threats to this visit and not me because we believe the postponement of Minister Genscher's visit was due to internal difficulties in the FRG.

As far as the Pen Club is concerned, we want it to function normally and possess international recognition. I will be able to give a better answer in 1 week's time because right now I do not remember the dates involved and what the current situation is. I will make a note of this question and reply next week.

Indian press correspondent: Could you comment on Pope John Paul II's latest speeches during his visit to Venezuela? He said that priests should not make political statements, but should concentrate instead on sermons with a religious content. Does this bear any relevance to the situation in which Polish priests have found themselves?

Urban: There is no need and no custom for me to comment on speeches by the pope. We only express a stance toward certain types of harmful and hostile political activity by some priests in Poland.

Tsveta Stefanova, Bulgaria: Are increased supplies of industrial goods to the market foreseen in connection with the planned increase in the amount of money in circulation in February? In the United Nations Jubilee year, what does Poland's cooperation with this organization look like. In what UN

organizations does Poland take part and do Poles occupy any posts inside various UN bodies?

Urban: Market supplies of industrial goods in Poland depend on the size of production, therefore food price changes cannot cause a growth of industrial goods, although of course it would be favorable if consumers, who will now calculate their budgets differently, had the possibility of buying more industrial goods. They would then reach the conclusion that it is worth cutting down on some types of food. This year, the quantity of consumer industrial goods on the market will increase in general, although there are exceptions to this rule. We already fear a quantitative, not qualitative, saturation of the market with some types of goods, and therefore the supply of some goods will diminish. An example is shoes, whose quality is criticized but whose quantity will diminish this year because of fewer orders from the trade. However, there will be a rise in the supply of most market goods, albeit a modest one. But, and let me stress this, this has nothing to do with price changes. It is quite simply the result of increased production.

I cannot name all the UN bodies which contain Poles or in which Poles occupy some important post. I can say at the most that the UN Secretariat itself contains a Pole, Mr Wyzner, who is an assistant secretary general. I think the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will provide you with full information on what bodies Poland participates in and what functions, if any, Polish representatives perform, whether in the Polish contingent or inside the Secretariat itself.

David Storey, REUTER: The reports from the Gdansk PZPR Politburo meeting gave us quite a detailed picture of the activity of individual Politburo members. Practically all members were covered, except for one, Mirosław Milewski. I would like to know if Milewski was present in Gdansk and what his [word indistinct] looks like.

Urban: I do not know. I am the government spokesman.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Mr Minister, I would like to know if the Polish legislature protects a murdered person from posthumous attacks from persons who stand in the dock in courts and attack him from there. Is there any protection?

Urban: Generally speaking, the assets of dead persons are protected and relatives may make sure of this through the courts. The rules of criminal trials lay down that accused persons are free to defend themselves and free to choose the methods of their defense and to motivate what they have to say. And if these limits are exceeded or things are said which have nothing to do with the defense or the need for defense, then it is the court's duty to intervene and allow only those statements that are justified by the material of the trial. And that is the way it is. However, in Poland there is a freedom to defend oneself before the court. And, finally, an accused person facing a court possesses all rights; that means he has the right to refuse to make a statement, he cannot be brought to responsibility for not telling the truth, and so on.

Robert Gillette, LOS ANGELES TIMES: Mr Minister, on Sunday, PAP presented a report on the commemoration in Auschwitz and also about a press conference for foreign journalists. It was said that Western correspondents had asked shocking questions, for example why Poland is still commemorating these events at all. I was present at this conference, and I can honestly say that not only was nothing of this kind asked, but not even hinted at. Then why, I would like to know, does an official Polish agency disseminate such false information?

Urban: I do not know what this conference was like, I was not there. I am surprised at this accusation because I do not know of any case where PAP has invented and reported false information. [Sentence indistinct] I can only express this general opinion about PAP, our government agency, which we value very highly. However, please do not relate this reply of mine to this particular case, which I do not know.

[Extra note] The case of the Auschwitz press conference and PAP accusations will be explained publicly at the next press conference.

Office of the Government Spokesman.

CSO: 2600/598

POLAND

# POLITBURO APPROVES PUBLISHING GOMULKA'S WORKS

LD051938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] On the eve of Wladyslaw Gomulka's 80th birthday--Wieslaw, outstanding activist of the Polish Workers Movement--the PZPR Central Committee Politburo has adopted a resolution concerning publication of his works. [sentence as heard] The publication will give the public an opportunity to better understand political ideas of the Polish Left, and will considerably enrich knowledge about the history and achievements of the PZPR. In the resolution, the Politburo instructed the party publishing house Ksiazka i Wiedza to prepare a several-volume edition of Wladyslaw Gomulka's works, and appointed an editorial committee led by Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the party Central Committee.

At today's meeting, the Politburo also acquainted itself with the course of the PZPR report-back campaign. It was stated that the campaign is characterized by high attendance and activity of members of departmental and basic party organizations. The implementation of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions is being assessed.

Implementation of individual tasks, resolutions and programs, and observance of party discipline is being examined. Improving management, reducing waste, and combatting social pathology are also being discussed.

It was stressed that in accordance with recommendations of the 18th Plenum, these issues as well as other issues concerning work forces should be examined during factory conferences.

The Politburo was informed of the state of preparations for the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of the Peaceful Future of the World which is to be held in Warsaw. It was stated that the initiative of convening this forum will contribute to consolidating efforts aimed at securing the peaceful future of the world, mutual understanding, cooperation, and friendship between nations.

CSO: 2600/597

POLAND

LAW ON SELF-MANAGEMENT CLARIFIED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Zenon Sadzicki]

[Text] A statement to the effect that the "general meeting of delegates" is an organ of self-management, included in the work force self-management statute of the work force of a state enterprise, is not at variance with law.

The general meeting of workers (delegates) can, as provided in the statute, supplement the composition of a workers council in case its numbers were to drop below one-half. Such a position was adopted by the Supreme Court in its resolution of 8 August 1984 (III PZP 27/84). It is worthwhile to know the basis of this resolution and the facts of the case.

As a matter of fact, section 10 of the statute of work force self-management of a certain enterprise of the automotive industry stipulates that its self-management organs are the general meeting of delegates of the enterprise work force, which exercises the functions of a general workers meeting, and the workers council of the enterprise. This provision gave rise in the mind of the registry court to doubts about its compatibility with article 7 and 8 of the work force self-management law and article 31 of the enterprise law. This doubt resulted from the fact that article 31 of the enterprise law speaks of the general meeting of workers (delegates) as of one of the organs of the enterprise, and in article 8 of the work force self-management law the word "general" is not used. The enterprise in question employs more than 300 workers which justified the insertion in the statute of a provision according to which the meeting of work force delegates exercises the functions of a general workers meeting.

In the opinion of the Supreme Court, the position that a statutory stipulation regarding "the general meeting of work force delegates of the enterprise" is not at variance with law, and in particular with the above-indicated provisions of the state enterprise law and work force self-management law, is justified in the first place by the fact that in the above-quoted article 31 the term "general" applies both to a meeting of workers and one of delegates. From the fact that article 8 of the work force self-management law does not use this word one cannot draw the conclusion that one should not use this

notion. The quoted provision is inserted in section 2, entitled "General meeting", which indicated that the wording "general" applies also to a "meeting of delegates." This provision was also understood in this way by the authors of the model statute of work force self-management.

Regarding the second question, the number of delegates of the general meeting is defined by the work force self-management statute (article 8 of self-management law). Concerning the workers council, the legislation provides that it is composed of 15 persons, and at the same time provides the possibility of establishing in the self-management statute some other number of members (article 13, paragraph 1). According to article 19 of the work force self-management law, in case of diminution of the composition of the workers council by one-half, the council, in order to carry out a by-election, can initiate the appointment of an election committee, and in this case articles 16 and 17 are applied correspondingly. This regulation does not preclude the possibility of carrying out a by-election to the workers council in case of a decrease in the composition of the council by less than one-half of its previous number. The above-indicated regulation boils down solely to the definition of a possible but not required way of proceeding in case of a decrease in the composition of the council by one-half. Article 16 of the law regulates the election procedure, and it also does not exclude the possibility of insertion in the work force self-management statute of an entry whereby in case of a decrease in the number of members of the workers council by less than one-half of its composition it will be supplemented as provided in the statute.

In considering the question of remuneration for the time spent as a member of a workers council, the Supreme Court brought up the point that this matter is regulated by article 3 and 5 of the law on work force self-management in state enterprises. The council's activities are of a social character. This expression should be understood in the current meaning of this word, that is, of the performance of certain functions outside of one's professional duties, from which the person performing them is not exempted in any case. This notion means that these functions are performed without remuneration on this score. However, the person performing them cannot suffer losses because of this. Therefore, the legislation, in article 5 of the law on self-management, resolved that a member of a workers council has a right to remuneration for the time lost from the performance of his professional duties because of fulfilling his [social] tasks during working hours.

1015

CSO: 2600/441



POLAND

# CREATION, TASKS OF CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Dec 84 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Edward Szymanski by PAP journalist Maurycy Kamieniecki: "Purpose: Strengthening Law and Order"]

[Text] On Wiejska Street, it is expected that work on the preparation of the draft law on a Constitutional Tribunal will end as early as this week. We note that the creation of such an organ, which is to make sure that the law is in accordance with the Constitution, was determined in a note to the basic law made by the Sejm in March 1982. This was a decision of major significance for strengthening law and order. It is also necessary, however, to have a law discussing in detail how such a tribunal is to operate. This problem was recently presented at a meeting of the presidiums of the Sejm and the PRON National Council Executive Committee by Deputy Edward Szymanski, a member of the presidium of the PZPR Club of Deputies. In an interview for PAP, he describes the directions in which the future draft is headed and the solutions outlined.

[Question] Why did the work take so long?

[Answer] Many problems required thorough consideration; it was also necessary to dwell on versions of possible solutions and their consequences. The question of the Constitutional Tribunal was raised at the beginning of the 1980's, among other things at the 12th Congress of the SD and the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. The presidiums of the clubs of deputies appointed a group of experts. The expert opinion prepared by this group became the point of departure for the work on the draft conducted by a group of deputies and lawyers, who also made use of advice from authorities in the area of constitutional law, as well as civil and criminal law. The matter is not being delayed. I hope that the Sejm will examine the draft as early as this term.

We often encounter questions about the Constitutional Tribunal and the parliament. The idea in the fundamental law is that the tribunal will have the right to make rulings on whether the laws adopted by the Sejm are in accordance with the Constitution. But after all, the Sejm is the highest organ of the state authorities, and thus far no one has had the right to oppose the Sejm's laws and resolutions. The solution is to be found in the fact that in the event that any law or part of one is questioned, the tribunal will not issue a ruling,

but its position will be discussed by the parliament. This does not violate the superior position of the Sejm in the system of state organs.

Let us call attention to the fact that the Sejm itself yields, as it were, this sphere of its activities to the control of the organ that it established itself. Although it is not to be subordinate to the Sejm--the members of the tribunal are independent and are only subordinate to the Constitution--it will constitute for the deputies an additional assurance that nothing will escape the Sejm's notice in this area, since this has to do with an organ that will examine from a distance the agreement of a law with the Constitution, and an organ that is also not burdened with participation in the legislative process.

On the other hand, the tribunal's rulings on a conflict with the Constitution or the laws, with reference to normative acts issued by the main or central organs, would be binding. The tribunal will also utilize the means required to eliminate such a conflict.

Let us examine at least three possible solutions. The first is that the tribunal invalidates all or part of the normative act being questioned. This, however, gives rise to far-reaching consequences, because all acts issued on the basis of it become invalid. Another possibility is that the tribunal cancels, for example, a minister's decree, which would mean taking away the legal force from that document from the moment of its cancellation. But even in that case, a legal gap would appear and some area of life would remain unregulated. There is also a third solution, toward which we are presently leaning. The tribunal calls upon the organ that issued the act in question to revoke or change it. The law itself has already specified the period for complying with such a ruling (it will be announced in the official gazette). There will not be any legal gap, and the change in the regulations will proceed in a direction that is in accordance with the tribunal's recommendations. If the minister does not comply before the deadline for the ruling, however, the tribunal itself would revoke his order, with all the consequences of this.

[Question] What problems did the authors of the draft encounter? Are they still an open question?

[Answer] There were many problems; I will mention some of them. The discussion about how one should understand the concept of a normative act (in addition to the laws subject to the tribunal's supervisory jurisdiction) has not yet ended. It will probably include all acts issued by the Council of Ministers, the premier, the ministers, or other authorized state organs. (By the way, in present legislation, the once widespread practice of numerous legal delegations for the government or ministers has been restricted to matters that would be difficult to regulate in laws in a general and timeless manner. But this, among other things--regardless of objective necessity--is the reason for such a large number and volume of laws being adopted during this term.) Shouldn't legal acts issued by the local organs of the government and administration also be subject to verification of their being in agreement with the constitution and the laws? The part of the fundamental law dealing with the Constitutional Tribunal simply does not mention this. I think that

the superior supervision by the Council of State over the activities of the people's councils is presently a sufficient solution, at least with respect to the legislative activities of these councils. There is also the problem of which acts can be subject to the jurisdiction of the tribunal, from the point of view of the time of their adoption. Finally, how should one deal in this regard with international treaties, which are after all a source of law as well--and possibly to what extent?

Should the tribunal deal only with a law that is already binding, or should it also consider, for example, draft laws? I think that the tribunal should probably not be drawn into the process of the origination of laws. There are difficult questions associated with the civil-law results and material consequences of the tribunal's decisions.

The tribunal's term of office--should it be the same as the Sejm? The prevailing view is that it should be longer--up to 8 years--and that every 4 years, for example, half of the tribunal's composition could be replaced. And the proceedings before the tribunal themselves--one or two echelons? These are far more than merely organizational issues.

There were differing views on who would have the right to approach the tribunal about examining a legal act that is being questioned. Certainly the national representations of trade unions, social-professional organizations of private farmers, cooperative organizations, and other professional organizations, provincial people's councils, the Council of Ministers, the Council of State, and the organs of the Sejm--but more than these. The list is a long one. The advocates of unlimited access to the tribunal think that this authorization should include individual citizens directly. The opponents of this view assert that the tribunal would be drawn into consideration of many matters that do not have major significance for the legal system, and would become one more complaint office. We are investigating the possibility of access to the tribunal with legal questions for all the courts, in connection with judicial proceedings, through the Supreme Court. This also applies to the Main Arbitration Commission. Furthermore, we will dwell on the possibility of its being addressed with legal questions from the organs of the state administration, which after all apply the law to the citizens most widely.

[Question] What influence can the Constitutional Tribunal have on the development of legislation?

[Answer] We expect it to have a great deal of influence. Also important, in addition to the tribunal's intervention activity, will be more general conclusions and comments on violations and gaps in the law, which it should present to the organs establishing the law. This function of the tribunal, a warning function, although not its primary one, will also be essential...

The tribunal will strengthen parliamentary control over the activities of the administration. The citizens of our country have a right to expect the establishment of the tribunal to strengthen law and order as well in the sphere of the protection of the constitutional rights and obligations of citizens.

Among other things, these are our expectations. The Sejm will decide on the final form of the law. A great deal will depend on practical experience.

POLAND

BRIEFS

BEDNARSKI ATTENDS GOMULKA ANNIVERSARY ASSEMBLY--A solemn assembly has been held today at a primary school in Krosno named after Wladyslaw Gomulka to mark the anniversary of his 80th birthday. The assembly was attended by youth from schools of Krosno, teachers, veterans of workers movement. Wieslaw's wife, Zofia Gomulka and son Ryszard Strzelecki were also present. Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee was there. A museum of Wladyslaw Gomulka at a house built in 1923 by his family has been opened in Krosno. Wieslaw lived at this house until 1926. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Feb 85 LD]

BALTIC STUDIO RESUMES BROADCASTING--Gdansk/Gdynia, 2 Feb (PAP)--After a break of more than three years, Studio Baltyk, broadcast on UKF from the Polish Radio Broadcasting Station in Gdansk, has resumed broadcasting to all the coastal voivodships. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Feb 85 LD]

CSO: 2600/599

YUGOSLAVIA

DRAGOSAVAC BOOK DEALS WITH NATIONALITIES QUESTION

LD010550 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT  
31 Jan 85

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Jan (TANJUG)--The book by Dr Dusan Dragosavac entitled "Topical Aspects of the National Question in Yugoslavia" was presented to the public in Zagreb this evening.

Speaking about the book, Vjekoslav Koprivnjak, secretary of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee, recalled that, since the emergence of Albanian irredentism in Kosovo, the issues of intranational relations have become topical in Yugoslavia. We have recently witnessed a variety of answers being offered to the question of why intranational relations have become disrupted. There is great confusion about this, Koprivnjak said and expressed the view that the LC must clarify this situation. In his assessment, Dr Dusan Dragosavac's work makes a significant practical political contribution to this clarification. He explains and, at the same time, engages in a polemic with many theses which have been emerging in our country in recent years. The author pays particular attention to the theses of those who want to revise the policy of the LCY through intranational relations.

On some 300 pages, Dragosavac deals with several themes by proceeding from a review of the current world crisis, the characteristics of present-day anticommunism, and the influences of these trends and processes on the relations in Yugoslavia. The author also writes about the significance of Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia in the development of intranational relations in Yugoslavia and evaluates Kardelj's contribution to resolving the national question. He also deals with some issues of religion, the church, and clericalism. In the final part of the book, Dragosavac also writes about the influence of economic and political problems on the national question.

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YUGOSLAVIA

QUESTIONS ON CPSU INSTITUTE'S ASSESSMENT OF WWII

LD010611 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT  
31 Jan 85

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TANJUG)--Following a whole series of articles in Soviet periodicals providing a one-sided treatment of the contribution by the national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia to the joint victory over fascism, the new edition of the book entitled "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945: A Short History" assesses even clearer the role of the national liberation struggle in WWII. The publisher is the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee. This third, amended and expanded edition has just come off the presses.

What are the assessments and attitudes of this highest scientific institution under the direct patronage of the Soviet party when it comes to the national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia in the general constellation of WWII? The shortest answer is: the same as in recent articles and periodicals, except that the book does not practically differentiate at all between the Yugoslav national liberation struggle and the movement of resistance or uprising in some countries which had been German allies during the war and are now Soviet allies, having left Hitler's coalition when the Red Army set foot on their territory.

In the introduction, the authors assert that "Soviet armed forces... [TANJUG ellipsis] together with the national liberation forces of a series of European states liberated from fascist occupation the peoples of Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and other countries." This introduction also deals in a similar way with the "brave struggle" waged against fascist invaders by the "national liberation forces of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the patriots of Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Hungary, and the participants of the movement of resistance and antifascist underground."

The book, printed in 250,000 copies, has some 550 pages. It has parts which refer to the "military actions on other fronts"--the reference being to outside the Soviet Union. It mentions in this connection the regions of North Africa, the Far East, Southeast Asia, and China, but there is no Yugoslav front which was "in action" throughout the 4 years of war. True enough, the part of the book which refers to the "growth in

national liberation movements," mentions the national liberation struggle first and lists some basic figures which convey something more of the real breadth and momentum of the national liberation struggle only to those who know the circumstances well. Because immediately following this, such assessments are also made about Bulgaria in 1943: "The armed struggle of Bulgarian patriots had great momentum. In that year, they carried out over 1,500 combat operations. The rapid increase in partisan detachments led to the national liberation uprising army being set up."

The chapter entitled "Belgrade Operation" is particularly characteristic. It contains a number of firm formulations which are rarely found even in Soviet publications.

This chapter begins with the following statement: During the last days of September 1944, the units of the Third Ukrainian Front reached the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border in the area of Vidin. North of Pirot and south of the point where the borders of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece meet, Bulgarian armies were deployed. An offensive against the German fascist forces on Yugoslav territory was imminent."

The authors probably refer to the former Bulgarian occupying forces which, only a week or so before, became a "national army." But why has no reference been made to the Macedonian and Serbian units which for 4 years struggled against the Germans and Bulgarians in that region.

According to the authors, at the end of 1944, "a political situation favorable to the patriotic forces was created in Yugoslavia" and in the same year "organs of people's power were finally formed and consolidated." The Yugoslav People's Army--the authors stress that this is "according to Yugoslav figures--"was 400,000 strong."

However, the authors go on, "despite the Yugoslav people's significant successes in their struggle for the liberation of their country, they failed to drive the enemy away from the whole of the country." "Only the arrival of the Soviet Army in the western regions of Bulgaria made the expulsion of the enemy possible." At the beginning of September, this history book claims, "Tito requested the Red Army's advance" into Yugoslavia. "The Soviet Government decided to send help urgently."

The authors go on to state that "the eastern part of Yugoslavia and its capital Belgrade were liberated through the joint actions of Soviet, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian units..." [TANJUG ellipsis].

"The Red Army victory was the basic precondition for the revival of not only the Yugoslav but also of many other European peoples' independence," the scientists of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute write.

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN SUBNOR DISCUSSES ANTI-STATE ACTIVITY

LD311358 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 85

[Text] As we have already reported, the members of the Presidium of the republican of the Federation of the National Liberation War Veterans' Associations [SUBNOR], the Croat Assembly's committee on war veterans and war disabled affairs, and the republican committee on these same questions today discussed how the protection of war veterans and war disabled is implemented and how it could be improved.

Following the joint session a session was held of the Presidium of the Croatian SUBNOR board in connection with counterrevolutionary events not only in our republic but also in other parts of Yugoslavia. War veterans, the Presidium stressed, not only condemn the increasingly frequent nationalist, clerico-nationalist, and other hostile activities, but they also demand a more energetic struggle against all those who are openly and in the crudest way attacking the gains of our national liberation struggle and revolution and the foundations of our self-managing socialist community.

There must no longer be any dilemmas and opportunism in the struggle against such activities which threaten the brotherhood and unity of our peoples, such as the nationalist incident in Split, Jovica Jokic, president of the republican SUBNOR board stressed in his introductory speech. That is why more than ever we have to take care of the education of the young, and also encourage ideopolitical activity among working people and citizens in order to avoid the lack of real appropriate reaction to such hostile activity. The enemies of our socialist self-managing society throughout the country are increasingly making use of various speaking platforms, public meetings, public media, and cultural, entertainment, and sporting events in order to negate all that has been achieved since the revolution and crudely attack the name and work of Comrade Tito. In so doing they make ample use of our economic shortcomings and disunity as well as of republican and provincial forms of etatism. That is why the members of the Presidium have decided--together with what they are demanding--to warn of such hostile activity in other republics as well, pledging that they themselves will fight more energetically against such phenomena in their own environment.



Events in Split, Knin, at the Canker Club in Ljubljana, at meetings of writers in Belgrade and even Novi Sad and Kljuc have a common feature and purpose: To besmirch our revolution and undermine the foundations of our self-managing socialist society. How is one to prevent such phenomena? By the responsible and decisive implementation of views and conclusions of the League of Communists, among which are also those on the speedier elimination of our economic and other shortcomings, i.e. by means of political activities, but also by means of more severe repressive measures against the participants of such excessive phenomena. This also applies to some cultural and scientific workers and academicians, such as Antonije Isakovic and Ivan Supek. The subjective socialist forces do not oppose them in a decisive way, supposedly so as not to be charged with disrupting democratic rights, restricting cultural and scientific work, and introducing strong arm methods. This is precisely what the reactionary forces skillfully exploit for their politicking.

There were repeated warnings today about the increasing negative activity of the church concerning the education of the young. The church is cleverly exploiting every single free space where the activities of subjective socialist forces are not sufficiently strong. As the veterans' organization is also a part of these socialist forces this criticism is at the same time self-criticism and a call to the veterans for a more active stand toward reactionary and recently increasingly frequent events. The progressive social forces must shake off Torpor and the play safe attitude toward even the concealed reactionary activities that advocate isolationism of the republics or the further federalization of the League of Communists and other ideas which threaten the foundations of our society. The board concluded that the resume of today's discussion should be sent to the municipal boards of the SUBNOR of Croatia, the leaders of Croatian socio-political organizations, and the SUBNOR of Yugoslavia.

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YUGOSLAVIA

# KRUNIC ON SERBIAN PLENUM CONCLUSIONS

AU311758 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 85

[Text] Speaking to the Novi Sad veterans about the current situation in the country, Bosko Krunic, president of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, said among other things that there is more criticism on what is not good in society than there are suggestions on what is to be done. More about this by Nikola Bulatovic from Novi Sad:

Are we at a turning point as concerns socialist democracy, socialist self-management, and particularly socialist relations in society? What kind of turning point is that? Are we on a threshold of some new stage in the development of the socialist self-management? These questions are frequently asked, Bosko Krunic said, also because there are many demands for more radical changes in the political (?system) in general. At the same time, there are also some texts which start from a suppositious impression that we have entered some kind of a new era, a post-Titoist one, which should mean a further process of democratization in society. I think that we would have to remove this elementary misunderstanding. Being a LCY, we can never accept these kinds of proffers of democracy. Following Tito's revolutionary thought means developing democracy. I think that it is important to note this also because of the new escalation that appears in some texts which runs along the lines that the role of the leader of the revolution should also be reexamined. For a long time we have sensed that something like that would emerge and that there would be certain demands for changes and for making some kind of a shift. There are more negations of the post-Titoist development course than there are suggestions on what should replace it and what would be better.

In the part of his speech devoted to the results of public debate on the occasion of the conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session, Krunic pointed to three big results: demand for the unity of Yugoslavia and the LCY; for the greater responsibility of everybody occupying higher offices; and for unity of leaderships concerning questions on development of society. It is beyond dispute that all institutions of the political system should be more quickly adapted to society's needs and it is obviously necessary to reexamine the functioning of the political system, but this implies assessment of each of its segments, in which one must not fall prey to the illusion that changes solve problems and the mistake of changing even what must not be changed.

Speaking about relations in the SR of Serbia, the Provincial Committee president said that the province has great responsibility for strengthening unity in Serbia and that the republic has responsibility for realizing autonomy. All questions can be solved with less pomp and clamor.

Regarding the 18th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, Kronic said that its unanimously adopted conclusions have not been called into question. One can only question how they are interpreted and implemented in practice.

Bosko Kronic also spoke about collective work and responsibility and expressed the opinion that one should reach a minimal accord in the country about the length of the term of office, he expressed his personal opinion in this respect that the next elections in 1986 should mark a fundamental cadre (?change). It is high time for cadres to return to the economy and for their vertical mobility from the commune to the federation to be ensured, Bosko Kronic concluded.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE SAWP RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS DISCUSSED

LD020522 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 1 Feb 85

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Feb (TANJUG)--The coordinating committee of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium for relations with religious communities discussed today the report on regional consultative meetings on these relations, held in November and December last year in the whole of the republic. Franc Setinc, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference and chairman of the coordinating committee, said that the debate had in fact been a pluralist speaking platform of views.

Though they did not answer all the questions, the consultative meetings have been very useful. They determined the tasks and pointed to where and how the organs of the Socialist Alliance and the sociopolitical community should act. A whole series of questions referring to both believers and atheists were dealt with and the way to resolve them indicated. Coordinating committees have been founded in all municipalities. However, the question of their structure, which should ensure full equality in activity, remains open. It was stressed in the debate that we must not be satisfied only with the existence of coordinating committees but that more should be done about their political training. Members of the coordinating committees must above all act as individuals, by which they will contribute to the joint self-managing activity of believers and atheists.

It was also pointed out that the Socialist Alliance, as the broadest front, must be much more present in the process of resolving the relations between socialist society and religious communities than before. However, there is a whole series of questions, the discussion of and decisions on which should be transferred to the grassroots. It is in this that the Socialist Alliance has in fact a significant function.

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